



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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29 August 1990

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ECOWAS Ministers Meet on Arbitration Court

AB2808185990 Dakar PANA in English 1644 GMT
28 Aug 90

[Text] Lagos, 28 Aug (PANA)—Nigeria's justice minister, Prince Bola Ajibola, on Tuesday [28 Aug] officially opened a meeting of West African justice ministers to examine the protocol for establishing the proposed arbitration court of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The court is one of the institutions envisaged under Article II of the May 1975 Treaty of Lagos for the establishment of the 16-member economic grouping.

Explaining the delay in setting up the court, the assistant ECOWAS executive secretary for administration, Adelino Queta, said this was because our community has until now progressed through consensus and the amicable settlement of all conflicts but since our field of activities is expanding and our process of integration deepening and becoming more complex, having the court operational becomes a necessity, he added.

Queta, who represented the ECOWAS executive secretary, who is now in Banjul to attend the national conference on the Liberian conflict, hoped that the court would be given independence and enough powers and authority and that it would prove its integrity and impartiality.

West African lawyers point out that conflicts are bound to arise in the ECOWAS in the course of implementing and interpreting the protocols on the free movement of persons, the right of establishment and residence, the protocol on trade liberalisation and agricultural cooperation.

On the other hand, recent conflicts between ECOWAS countries (Senegal-Mauritania, Senegal-Guinea Bissau, Togo-Ghana and the Liberian civil war) had reached such a stage that it is necessary to set up the court as envisaged under Article 11 and 56 of the Treaty of Lagos.

Saying these articles were limitative, the Nigerian justice minister suggested that the court should ensure the respect of law and the principles of equity in the interpretation of the clauses of the treaty.

The ECOWAS justice ministers will between Tuesday and Thursday make recommendations to be submitted to the ECOWAS Council of Ministers and later to the conference of heads of state and government.

Only Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Guinea-Bissau, Sierra Leone and Mauritania were represented by their ministers

during the opening ceremony while Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso and Gambia were represented by ambassadors or officials.

Six countries—Liberia, Guinea, Togo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cape Verde and Ghana were not represented.

Foreign Ministers To Tour Dissenting Countries

AB2808214590 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] We hear from sources in Banjul that the Mediation Committee there hopes to announce the names of members of an interim government by Thursday [30 Aug]. However, some members of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] are not entirely happy with the role the organization has been playing. Indeed, there are reports that one member state, Burkina Faso, has even sent troops to help the rebels led by Charles Taylor, who opposes the ECOWAS initiative.

At this crucial stage in the search for peace, the Mediation Committee is anxious to achieve unanimous support among ECOWAS members. From Banjul, Babacar Gueye telexed this report on their attempts to achieve this.

[Begin studio announcer recording] As discussions continue on the setting up of an interim government, it has been announced that a delegation of foreign ministers of some of the member countries of the Mediation Committee will be leaving Banjul on Thursday for Senegal, Ivory Coast, and Burkina Faso. It is expected that the delegation will be answering to President Compaore's accusations that the committee, by sending ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to Liberia, has overstepped its mandate. It is also expected that the delegation will seek to dissuade the governments of Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast from supporting Charles Taylor. In the case of Senegal, its foreign minister two days ago lamented the fact that governments of ECOWAS countries that are non-members of the committee have not been informed of the committee's activities.

In the meantime, another important issue currently exercising the minds of the ECOWAS Secretariat is the problem of the financing of ECOMOG. It is estimated that the entire operation will cost \$50 million, to be raised from contributions by ECOWAS countries and international donors. However, as of now, only the Gambian Government has made a contribution of \$100,000. [end recording]

Cameroon

*** Biya Deemed Choice To Head Multiparty System**90AF0364B Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French
1 Jun 90 p 1

[Editorial by Paul C. Ndembiyembe: "The Text and the Context"]

[Text] On very close inspection, the debate on the establishment of a multiparty system in our country turns out to be not as simple as it seems. The issue interests and fascinates public opinion, and both those in favor and those opposed can find considerable and fundamental arguments in valid support of their points of view. The debate is not a new one, however. It was implicitly at the heart of the discussions at the congress in Bamenda concerning the fundamental options connected with the party and the democratic opening up, and it is continuing today within the RDPC [Democratic Rally of the Cameroonian People], where opinion on the subject is far from unanimous.

While Jean Jacques Ekindi's thinking is geared resolutely to the prospect of political pluralism, Emah Basile advocates more caution by rejecting "hasty" adoption of "the multiparty system," and Mballa Bounoung flatly says "no to the multiparty system." In differing degrees, those three men occupy important positions within the RDPC, leading one to suppose that their respective assessments of the problem are a reflection not simply of personal points of view but also probably of currents or trends of opinion within the party itself. And theirs are probably not the only viewpoints held.

What is the president's stand on this question? While Paul Biya's recent statements do not include an express and specific indication of how he perceives the problem of establishing a multiparty system in Cameroon, the chief of state's writings do state clearly what will be the outcome of the plan for society that he has initiated: "The multiparty system, the advent of which must be prepared for in a steady, methodical, and responsible manner, will be a major step in the realization of our democratic plan," he emphasizes in his reference book titled "For Community Liberalism." One deduces from this that the multiparty system will come to Cameroon—with and under the Renewal. One reason is that it is hard to imagine that that Renewal, which was applauded by all Cameroonians when it was introduced in 1982 and the plan for which commits Cameroon to the path marked out for taking us into the 21st century, will not overcome the foreseen challenges with the same leader. Another reason is that it is hard to see how and why Paul Biya would leave it to others to erect the structure that he himself designed. Moreover, it would be unfair if the historical and political benefit inherent in the decision to establish a multiparty system in Cameroon did not go to its originator, whose profound attachment to the ideal of democracy has been appreciated for seven years.

That being the case, the question is no longer whether Cameroon will adopt a multiparty system but when it will reach that point and how it will get there. Those are, in actual fact, the basic questions occupying and preoccupying national public opinion. It is not very easy to provide clear and precise answers to those questions here and now, the basic reason being that the answers do not appear either in the text of the president's messages or in the organic texts of the state but in their context—that is, in the Cameroonian environment itself. What is being waited for is clearer evidence by that environment that it is capable of managing that democratic prospect without jeopardizing its unitary achievements and with respect for legality, which is nothing other than the order as established and freely accepted in a given place at a given time. That Cameroonian environment is also the environment of a historical context: that of a country that has known the difficult experience of painful birth; that of a country that was born in turmoil and has known nothing but turmoil; and that of a country that aspires only to experience no more turmoil. All of which is another way of saying that a certain amount of familiarity, understanding, and patience is necessary to avoid doing lasting damage to the current process as a result of hasty judgments and uncontrolled behavior. One is never right to act irrationally.

Confidence must therefore be placed in Paul Biya, who has the people's mandate—and, even more, the historic mission—to carry Cameroon's destiny to its conclusion with a sense of timeliness, evolution, and ideals and on the basis of a more open and more democratic plan for society. So why suddenly behave as though he might renege on his own commitments? The man will not fail—as he is fond of repeating. So he must know the correct pace for firmly establishing Cameroonian democracy on rock. The man will not fail. It is the duty of statesmen to lead societies toward an ideal that appears attractive to them. Victor Hugo once said: "Great men have only one ideal: the future."

*** SDF Leader Described as 'Pathetic'**90AF0364C Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French
30 May 90 p 2

[Article by Andre-Vincent Ekani; first paragraph is CAMEROON TRIBUNE introduction]

[Text] The so-called leader of the Social Democratic Front [SDF] turns out to be a pathetic politician and a shady businessman.

In the ranks—if there are any—of the famous Social Democratic Front (the unauthorized party that orchestrated the illegal demonstrations in Bamenda and at Yaounde University), there is one name that is in the news at the moment. It is that of John Fru Ndi, who is described as the chairman of that group and who, according to certain sources, has dropped out of circulation. It seems that he has taken off for Nigeria.

Because of the regrettable events that we have just been through and that resulted in the loss of human life and considerable material damage, it is very appropriate to introduce the reader to the man chiefly responsible for those unfortunate events. With no denigration intended and without entering into useless polemics, we can say that upon analysis, the leader of the SDF appears to be an ambitious man (as is his right), but one whose moral standards and ideas are a little strange.

John Fru Ndi, who will be 49 years old this July, was born in Baba II in the arrondissement of Bamenda. A bookseller by profession, he attended primary school in Ndog and pursued his secondary studies at a commercial secondary school in Nigeria until 1964, when he obtained his GCE [General Certificate of Education] "O" Level—at the age of 23! Married and the father of seven children—a circumstance that ought to have led him to show more responsibility and better judgment—Fru Ndi was considered one of the most prosperous businessmen in Bamenda. Of average height and with a receding hairline, he occupied positions of responsibility enabling him to make a name for himself. In particular, he was first vice president of the Lions Club in Bamenda, but he is best known for the fact that he was once chairman of the most popular soccer team in Nord-Ouest Province, the PWD of Bamenda, which currently plays in the second division.

The man is also famous because he owns the Ebibi Bookshop, which is headquartered in Bamenda and has branches in Yaounde and Mamfe.

Politically, there is one fact deserving of mention because it might shed light on John Fru Ndi's conduct. It is that he was an unsuccessful candidate in the latest legislative elections (on 24 April 1988), when his "khaki" slate did not attract voter support. What this means is that he is in fact a former member of the RDPC [Democratic Rally of the Cameroonian People], and his unfavorable showing in those elections may have made him decide to leave the party in which he had been active until then. Those who know him well say that candidate Fru Ndi could not have done any better in the elections, the reason being that he had become very unpopular after the PWD of Bamenda, of which he was still chairman, dropped into the second division. Sometimes there are unpardonable failures in the eyes of public opinion. Our compatriot apparently learned that by bitter experience. Perhaps to make a comeback, he decided to return to the center of the political stage by a tortuous path that involved establishing a completely regional and clanish party. We all know what happened next.

A political career for someone claiming to be a democrat and a "champion" of freedoms presupposes a degree of credibility and steady moral standards. But in those two areas, the leader of the famous SDF does not exactly come across as a model of behavior. Do those people who have let themselves be captivated by his tricks and

demagogic promises know that according to well-informed sources, John Fru Ndi was one of those responsible for toppling the Cameroon Bank, to which he reportedly owed several hundred million CFA [African Financial Community] francs (some people say 400 million CFA francs) on a loan obtained without adequate guarantees? So the man giving us lessons and possessing the miracle cure for the economic crisis facing the country turns out to be one of the destroyers of the national economy.

There are no doubt many other things that could be said about a man claiming to be Cameroon's "messiah" and thinking, in his own words, that he has received "a mission from God." A "savior" who, to arouse the support of his compatriots, does not hesitate to have them sing an anthem other than that of Cameroon.

The bookseller from Bamenda is thus revealed in his true light: that of a pathetic politician and an impostor.

* Protest Branded Illegal, Divisive, Violent

90AF0364A Yaounde CAMEROON TRIBUNE in French
29 May 90 p 1

[Editorial by Abui Mama: "Peace and Legality"]

[Text] Now that some time has passed, the striking thing about last weekend's illegal demonstrations in Bamenda and at Yaounde University is the frightening logic behind that synchronized double movement aimed at agitation and provocation. Whatever gives people the right to violate the law and scoff at public authority? Must the establishment and launching of a political party or the support it might receive necessarily be accompanied by a bloody frenzy? Last, is it necessary, in a state of law such as Cameroon, to persuade people by bearing the label of those martyrs who do not change human history?

Fortified by the presence of the foreign media that had come to cover their banned and unprecedented demonstration, the participants in that astonishing crusade against peace and legality were surely gambling on the only form of subversion that still has meaning in our time: that involving the establishment of a multiparty system without delay and without concern for the insurmountable specific features of each state.

All Cameroonians of goodwill would like to be able to forget how high a price was paid for the wind of lunacy that took possession of a few tiny groups in Bamenda and at Yaounde University. It was the price of blood. They cannot resign themselves to the idea. They are well aware of the allies they would lose if our so dearly won peace and national unity were compromised by the hammering whose undesirable effects have begun to shake certain neighboring countries. Having learned that being free means knowing and obeying the laws of one's country, those Cameroonians cannot confuse democracy and anarchy. They have just demonstrated, over the past six weeks, that their loyalty to the national institutions is firmly established.

Peace and legality. For a long time to come, that duo will be the unavoidable prerequisite for any plan for society and any human undertaking. Attacking peace therefore does more than demonstrate a lack of patriotism. It is also a crime against society—against humanity. And because peace is fragile and is always felt to be precarious, it is not superfluous, now that calm has returned to Bamenda and Yaounde University, to urge Cameroonians to further strengthen that peace every day, to preserve it jealously, and to work out, in concord and in keeping with their own specific genius, a model of democracy that history will remember as being the work of the Cameroonians themselves.

All things considered, the illegal demonstrations of 26 May did more than reveal publicly the perils threatening our democratic experience. They also show how much regard some Cameroonians have for the universal values of peace and respect for the law. They have also made it possible—and this is not their least significant feature—to identify within our own ranks the adversaries of the well-considered and coherent process that President Paul Biya began back in 1982—long before the bells of the multiparty system for all began ringing. The fact that our adversaries are well known and are expressing themselves more and more freely from whatever platform they choose without being disturbed is definite evidence that progress is being made under the Renewal. It is also evidence of that will to calm and rally the people that characterizes the style of President Biya the humanist, legalist, statesman, and noblehearted man.

Gabon

* Rapid Passage of Free Press Law Encouraged

90AF0420A Libreville L'UNION in French 6 Jun 90 p 8

[Article signed "the Editors"]

[Text] Congratulations resounded when the acts of the National Conference were read and it was learned that freedom of the press was to be reinstated in Gabon and that a National Communications Council was to be created. Six weeks after the conclusion of this historic session, the leaders of existing press organs and others hoping to inaugurate new newspapers are wondering and waiting for the details about the conditions for practicing their profession.

In view of the upcoming legislative elections, it seems urgent now to promulgate new laws to replace the old, especially the provisions of law 84/59 of 5 January 1960, which replaced the French law on freedom of the press of 29 July 1881.

The precise wording of new laws requires time, of course, and they must then be adopted by the National Assembly. All the same, we hope Gabonese lawmakers will show more celerity than their French colleagues who adopted freedom of press legislation 92 years after the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen!

Article 11 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man specified: "Free communication of thought and opinion is one of the most precious of the rights of man: Every citizen may therefore speak, write, and print on his own responsibility for abuse of this liberty in cases determined by law." But this completely new freedom of the press was not established in France until the law of 28 July 1881 doing away with prior approval of the dissemination of newspapers and periodic publications.

That law thus granted freedom of the press in all its forms, especially the freedom to print and publish a newspaper, distribute it, buy or receive one, read it, etc. However, this freedom carries with it limits formulated in the public interest and resulting either from the administrative system or from a repressive system permitting abuses of this freedom.

The lawmakers, therefore, provided for prevention of sale when a publication constitutes a specific danger to the public order and in particular may promote riots, disturbance of free movement on public roads, or danger to public morals. In exceptional cases, notably a hypothetical declared state of siege or state of emergency, the government can be given power of seizure.

In the former colonies, in Algeria and in some countries under protectorate mandates, freedom of the press has met various fates. Individual laws have been passed to chip away at the provisions of the 1881 law, especially in times when freedoms were restricted.

Contradiction

With the decision to grant independence to France's former overseas possessions, the lawmakers took pains to give the African nations laws governing the press. Gabon's law, called the "law on the freedom of the press and the freedom of opinion," was adopted by the Legislative Assembly as number 84/59 and promulgated on 5 January 1960.

In article 3, this law specifies that any regular newspaper can be published without prior approval and without payment of a security deposit after the editor has filed the name of the paper, the name and address of its editor, and the name of the printer with the court, the state prosecutor, and the ministry of the interior.

This rather liberal requirement is contradicted by article 7 of the same law, which requires approval prior to distribution since the publisher of any publication must give the ministry of the interior two copies of the journal, signed at the bottom of each page, 12 hours before an edition's release. An order not to release an edition can be issued by a public official if the official thinks the facts, allegations, or proposals it contains may by their nature disturb the public peace or the public order.

In practice, this provision fell into disuse for publications printed on the premises. It is impossible for a daily to give the ministry of the interior or an office it designates, now CEDOC [Documentation Center], two

copies of an edition 12 hours before its release. On the other hand, the editor is careful to deposit copies as required with the national archives and to send CEDOC and the ministry of information sufficient copies to allow them the possibility of exercising their control a posteriori.

Gabonese law 84/59, like the French law of 1881, which inspired it, while more restrictive, gives the public service the "right of correction" (article 9) and gives political parties, legal entities, and individuals the "right of response" (article 10).

Concerning this "right of response," the law states that the publication is required to print without charge the responses of any person named or designated in the publication. This response must appear in the same place and in the same type as the article that provoked it and with no changes (set off).

Law 84/59 provides that infractions of its principal provisions will be punished by fines, and repeat offenders will receive sentences of between 15 days and 2 years in prison, the editor of the publication being considered the responsible official.

New Missions, New Laws

At the same time, the ministry of information over the last 30 years has been making regulatory decisions to

codify the communications professions, from the printed to the audiovisual media and publicity. These regulations in no way limit law 84/59 on freedom of the press and freedom of expression. Under these conditions, it appears very unlikely that Gabon's media profile will change significantly soon.

It is reasonable to ask whether any magazine or daily paper editor or radio producer will risk a new project whose dissemination is not assured. It is known already that freedom of the press has economic limitations because a new publication or program requires considerable capital. If the restrictions of law 84/59 are piled on top of this obstacle, it becomes practically impossible for a press promoter to create a new publication to take its place alongside L'UNION, JEUNE AFRIQUE, or AFRICA INTERNATIONAL.

The National Communications Council, charged notably with assuring the equal treatment of political parties and associations in the public media, has its work cut out for it! It seems therefore urgent to get it rolling so that the rules of democratic play in communications will be redefined: The heads of Gabon's media are waiting for their new missions to be completely defined and for the new regulations to be adopted. Then, they will be free to meet the various players on the national political arena. Thus they no longer will be—at least we can hope—the object of criticism from all sides!

Djibouti**French Carrier Leaves for Gulf; Kuwaiti Arrives**

EA2808210090 Djibouti Domestic Service in Somali
1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The French aircraft carrier [Clemenceau] escorted by two destroyers left Djibouti port this morning for the Gulf following a one-week stay in Djibouti.

Meanwhile, the Kuwaiti minister of Awqaf and Islamic affairs has arrived in the country. The Kuwaiti minister will be received tomorrow by the prime minister and acting chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Barkat Gourad Hamadou.

Premier Says French Troops Only For Defense

EA2808205790 Djibouti Domestic Service in Somali
1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] A delegation from the French National Assembly led by (Jean-Michel Busco) arrived here this morning. The head of the delegation is also France's chairman of Military and Defense Affairs.

Mr. (Jean-Michel Busco) and his seven-member delegation entered into talks with Prime Minister Barkat Gourad Hamadou, Chairman of the National Assembly (Abdulkadir Waberi Askar), and Defense Minister Hossein Barkat Siraj. The talks were also attended by the French ambassador to Djibouti and the French military attache and his adviser on defense matters. The talks centered on bilateral issues and the Gulf crisis.

The French National Assembly deputies made an inspection tour of French troops stationed in the country. The delegation leaves for Sanaa tomorrow. The head of the delegation said that their visit to Djibouti had been planned far in advance.

Meanwhile, the prime minister and acting chairman of the Council of Ministers said the French troops stationed in the country would not be deployed in the regional crisis. The prime minister made the remarks in a press conference held this morning. The prime minister said the existing military treaty between Djibouti and France stipulates that France will defend Djibouti if Djibouti faces aggression from outside similar to that faced by Kuwait. He made it clear that the French troops cannot be deployed outside Djibouti. The prime minister reiterated that his country would never allow French troops to be deployed for external purposes. On the Gulf crisis, the prime minister said that his country supports the UN

Security Council resolution and the Arab League member states' resolution on the Gulf crisis.

Ethiopia**EPLP Repulses Counteroffensive Near Asmera**

EA2808184990 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad
Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 0630 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] The heroic Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] has repulsed a counteroffensive waged by the Dergue on the Dekemhare front (south of Asmera) to regain the territory it lost and has inflicted heavy losses on the Dergue army. In battles fought on 23 and 24 August, our combatants put 1,800 Dergue soldiers out of action. Of these, 700 were killed, 1,100 injured, and 17 captured. Our combatants captured one tank and over 120 medium and light weapons. The Dergue counteroffensive was carried out at Afelba on the Dekemhare front. The Dergue army retreated to where it had come from with the above-mentioned losses. [passage omitted]

Uganda**Museveni Receives Liberian Taylor's Message**

AB2908102290 Dakar PANA in English 0949 GMT
29 Aug 90

[Text] Kampala, 29 Aug. (UNA/PANA)—President Museveni on Tuesday [28 Aug] received a message from Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL).

In its report of the development, the UGANDA NEWS AGENCY (UNA) did not say what was in the message but only noted that it was delivered by Ernest Eastman, chairman of the Bauman Company in Liberia.

Eastman, who also was reported to have briefed President Museveni about the present conflict in the West African country, was along with Tom Woewiyu and James Supuwood in Banjul last week where they represented Taylor at unsuccessful negotiations on the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace plan for Liberia.

The plan included a ceasefire among the warring parties, the deployment of ECOWAS forces to monitor the ceasefire and the setting up of an interim government prior to the holding of democratically conducted elections.

The NPFL, which is the main rebel group in Liberia, has objected to some provisions of the plan including the deployment of ECOWAS forces in Liberia.

De Klerk Said Ready to Negotiate 'Immediately'

MB2808181290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1553 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Pretoria Aug 28 SAPA—President F. W. de Klerk met a top-level international Methodist church delegation in Pretoria on Tuesday [28 Aug] and told them he was ready to come to the negotiating table immediately, the delegation said.

World Methodist Council (WMC) Chair Bishop Lawi Imathiu told a news conference afterwards the delegation had received positive answers to several important points raised in the meeting.

"The meeting was so good and encouraging."

The delegation met former President P. W. Botha in 1987, a meeting described by Bishop Imathiu as "tough, difficult and depressing."

President de Klerk argued his case for a new constitution and firmly stated his intention to remove the population registration and Group Areas Acts, Bishop Imathiu said.

The delegation is due to meet representatives of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Azanian People's Organisation on Wednesday.

Bishop Imathiu said the delegation hoped to come to "the new SA [South Africa]" next time they visited.

"If the new SA comes, we will come and celebrate with you."

WMC vice-chair and president of the Methodist Church of Great Britain, the Rev. Dr. Donald English, said he believed Mr. de Klerk was a "very tough politician," which would be observed once the negotiating process got going.

President de Klerk had committed himself wholeheartedly to a new constitution and an end to the Group Areas Act by 1991, Dr. English said.

The delegation's visit follows a 1986 WMC conference in Nairobi which instructed church officers to communicate with the SA government.

Meets With National Council

MB2908085190 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] The South African Council of Churches has recommended to the government that hostels in black towns should be converted into family units and that a monitoring group in unrest areas should be appointed.

Another recommendation is that allegations of partiality by the police in these areas should be investigated by a commission. This follows talks lasting more than three hours between a Council delegation and the state president at the Union Buildings last night. The minister of law and order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, attended the meeting which was requested by the Council.

The Council handed President de Klerk a number of sworn statements on alleged police partiality. The chief secretary of the Council, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said after the meeting that the delegation had welcomed the positive attitude that President de Klerk had taken towards it. He said Mr. de Klerk had promised to consider the Council's suggestion that innocent victims of the unrest should receive compensation.

Interview With Constitutional Minister Viljoen

MB2808113490 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1835 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Studio interview with Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, the minister of constitutional development and national education; by Clarence Keyter of the South African Broadcasting Corporation [SABC], Dries van Heerden of SUNDAY TIMES, and Z.B. du Toit of DIE PATRIOT in the SABC's Johannesburg studio—live]

[Text] [Keyter] Good evening and welcome to all three of you. Dr. Viljoen, I would like to begin. Defense Minister Malan, used harsh words over the past weekend against the ANC [African National Congress]. Mr. Chris Hani of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] in turn, used harsh words to anger the whites, if one may express it in that way. Is it General Malan's intention to pacify the whites with his statements over the past weekend?

[Viljoen] I think General Malan made a few very practical and sober points that should be accepted by all involved in the entire process of negotiation. He said that if a person speaks of a suspension of the armed struggle then that person should match words with deeds. Secondly, he said that if one speaks about the suspension of the armed struggle then one should ensure that one is in a position to maintain discipline and mete out punishment, and that the ANC leaders, in this regard, will have to ensure that they have the ability to deliver whatever they pledge to deliver. He also said that various rival groups and factions should discontinue blaming one another for the clashes taking place. They should be balanced in their views and admit that something may be wrong on their own side. Lastly, he said that it is ridiculous and laughable to call on the police to restore order on the one hand, and on the other hand, to place all the blame on the police if clashes take place during the restoration of order. I think that these are very practical points that everyone should consider.

[Van Heerden] Doctor, I would like to pursue that point. It seems as if one of the terms used frequently by the government is the so-called irreversibility of the process and it seems also as if it has become the litmus test to gauge how the world views the reform process. Can you theoretically perceive a situation where the process can be reversed or is it truly irreversible?

[Viljoen] I foresee serious setbacks in the future unless the preconditions for a peaceful process of negotiation are met, namely, the suspension of violence, intimidation, destabilization and also the lifting of restrictive

measures that have restrained normal political activity. I cannot see a return to the old, original positions of the various parties, because it is in those positions that they have arrived at the conclusion, on both sides, that violence, whether it is used in the enforcement of law and order, or whether it is used by radical organizations in an attempt to gain control, does not work and in any event it does not offer a workable and peaceful solution.

[Van Heerden] But you also have to accept that there is also a measure of skepticism by black organizations on the government's ability to proceed with the process. There were too many cases in the past, in terms of their own viewpoint, where they were almost deceived and in the end were left in the middle of a process.

[Viljoen] The government has made so many provisions within its own political power base, where it has pledged considerable costs toward support, that it is a totally illogical, unacceptable, and impossible conclusion to expect that the government will renege. A few ANC leaders have said, I think Hani amongst others, that the ANC and also Slovo, will revert to the armed struggle if the government does not pursue what it has pledged. On the other hand they subscribe to the Pretoria Minute, where it states that a basis of mutual trust has been established where grievances that can lead to clashes will be identified timeously and dealt with accordingly.

[Du Toit] Doctor, I want to return to the issue of violence and the unrest. The entire country is shocked by this wave of unrest that has increased since the government has unbanned the ANC on 2 February and has resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people. You continue to work on a constitution with these organizations who are maiming and killing. I want to ask you the vitally important question being asked by the white electorate: If you establish a constitution for a new South Africa, how will the cabinet that will rule over all of us, be created? Will it have a white majority or a black majority?

[Viljoen] Let us begin with the first point that you have made and that is, namely, that since 2 February, there has been a considerable increase in violence. We must also keep in mind that before 2 February there were periods of serious violence, and that the experience of both sides that violence does not present a solution, has resulted in both moving to the negotiations phase or to the phase to remove the obstacles to the process of negotiation.

[Du Toit] But the violence increased thereafter?

[Viljoen] Thereafter, violence flared up again and at the moment it has reached an unacceptable level. Your question is in connection with negotiations for a new constitution. One of the prerequisites for a new constitution is that there should be effective protection of minority rights at the executive as well as legislative level, and in that regard, as the state president has stated before and during the election, the existing concentration of power in one person will be unacceptable in a new constitution where minorities will have to be protected effectively. There will thus have to be a balance of power which contains weights and

counterweights between, for example, a government leader and a head of state, to ensure the maintenance of the constitution and the thorough and responsible execution by the agents of the state.

[Du Toit] But Deputy Minister Leon Wessels says the government, in other words the cabinet, will reflect the population of the country. If I understand him correctly, this means approximately one white minister to five or more black ministers. Now I want to ask you: Where in South Africa will you find such stupid black leaders, who with that vast majority in the cabinet and on the voters roll—you stand for a joint voters roll—I want to ask you: where will you find such stupid black leaders....

[Viljoen interrupting] Let me ask....

[Du Toit] ...who would allow their power to be restricted to such an extent that you can talk of counterchecks and counterbalances, to restrict their power in such a way that they cannot execute their power according to their numbers. Such stupid people do not exist.

[Viljoen] Let me remind you that the 1977 National Party [NP] attempt in which Mr. Treurnicht and most of the leaders presently in the Conservative Party [CP] were involved, that the 1977 constitutional proposals of the NP were the first proposals in which the constitution included an explicit proportional black representation. In other words, that constitution did not encompass a white majority. And yet it was acceptable at the time....

[Du Toit interrupting] Black....

[Viljoen] ...a nonwhite equal representation in the constitution.

[Du Toit] But the coloreds and the Indians were in the minority. That is not an analogy.

[Viljoen] In the cabinet.... In the government of the country they are on an equal level under the state president. This was one of the points which went much further than the eventual 1983 constitution. This is a clear point of departure of the NP and the government, that in the negotiation process there are two basic elements which need to be thoroughly accommodated.

The one element is: It must be a peaceful negotiation process. The actual negotiation over a new constitution cannot start while there are still restrictions on the political activities, whether that is by way of government restrictions, violence or intimidation.

The second requirement which the government clearly states, is that all government structures should include an effective protection of minority rights. Not that the minority should have authority over everything, because then you would only have a continuation of the minority domination from which we are moving away. But on essential matters there should be effective protection for minorities, either by way of consensus decisionmaking or a loaded majority.

[Keyter] Dr. Viljoen, the reaction from the right wing. If one thinks about the Pretoria Minute you just referred to, where the ANC suspended violence until they would need it or not. The reaction from the right wing—is it what you had expected, or not?

[Viljoen] Let me state it very frankly: The government would have preferred a halt, an end to violence in the Pretoria agreement. However, we took note that in paragraph 3, in which this matter was spelt out, we received a clear commitment from the ANC that from this date, all armed activities and related activities would be stopped forthwith. This is clearly and explicitly spelt out. Further, a working group was accepted to supervise, to monitor that all aspects, all practical aspects of the suspension of armed activities and related activities had indeed disappeared from the scene and had been handled in a satisfactory manner. In this light, we were prepared to accept this particular formulation and on the road ahead we would make sure this is carried out according to the word and the spirit.

[Keyter] But Doctor, you do not answer my question. I asked about the reaction from the right wing. Is this what you had expected? And if that is not the case, will it delay negotiations?

[Viljoen] I think the reaction from the extreme right to whatever we do, will be negative, was negative and will remain negative whenever it involves a system in which all population groups share political power in an undivided state. The right wing's departure point will only be satisfied under their romantic dream of a geographically separated partition of South Africa in various components, of which some would form part of a white homeland. This, in our view, is a reaction that one cannot, with any modifications, accommodate on the road we are presently travelling.

[Du Toit] Doctor, you are talking of romantic dreams....

[Keyter] Let's just see. Who wants to ask a follow-up question?

[Van Heerden] No, give Z.B. the chance.

[Du Toit] Thanks. You talk of romantic dreams. I have noted that when you talk, when you and your party talk about the future, you make an implicit assumption, that your partners in the power-sharing experiment, are big democrats, that they will not only establish democracy, but also maintain and extend it. The Africa Institute says there is not a single democracy in Africa. Throughout history there has never been a democratic change of government in Africa. You want whites to trust this government, where most of the power would be in the hands of the blacks, to trust that those blacks will maintain democracy. But nothing they did over the past years gives you or the government the slightest logical or scientific grounds for such supposition. Are you not busy with a pipe-dream?

[Viljoen] No, we....

[Du Toit] Are you not busy with a romantic dream?

[Viljoen] We realize that it is a very difficult path, but it is a much more achievable path than the alternative advocated by the CP, that would anyway immediately lead to chaos and conflict. Which is why, in the NP's approach of a new constitutional dispensation, an ordinary simplistic majority set-up is simply unacceptable. This was also clearly stated by the state president, and this particular arrangement of an effective entrenchment of minority rights is regarded as essential—also because the minority has a longer tradition of pure democracy in South Africa.

[Du Toit] But who guarantees those rights? The human rights charter, minority groups—who guarantees them?

[Viljoen] The fundamental guarantee of a new dispensation is embodied in a number of checks and balances, in a human rights charter which can be applied by the courts. It is embodied in a constitution in which specific minority rights are protected, a constitution which no longer resides under the sovereignty of Parliament, but in which the judicial court functions as the controlling body of the constitution. But it is also contained in the fact that the minority, to which the whites belong,—not 70,000 people as in South-West [Africa/Namibia], or 200,000 people as in Rhodesia [Zimbabwe]—but five and a half million people, who face the risks and implications of irresponsible and unconstitutional behavior by a so-called majority power, that they will regard such action in a serious light, so that will undoubtedly have a corrective and deterring effect on any possible irresponsible action.

[Van Heerden] Doctor, I would like to refer to that which is in the interest of the vast majority of South Africans, the forthcoming negotiations for a new South Africa. We appear to be in a second phase now, negotiations to remove obstacles having been completed.

This past weekend, I attended the conference of the Five Freedoms Forum, and it appears that one of the next issues of contention will be this: Who will be sitting around the table, and should there be an interim government? There seem to be notable differences developing between you and the ANC. They are for an elected interim constituent assembly, while you maintain that the existing political parties must negotiate. Can this difference be bridged, or do you think it could be an insurmountable obstacle?

[Viljoen] I think it can be bridged. If one commits oneself to a peaceful negotiation process, you have to accept that all the problems, even the most difficult conflict situations, must be subjected to the negotiation process, and that you will have to find a solution through a process of give and take. You won't always have everything your way, nor can you expect the other party to give up everything from his side.

As far as the question of a constituent assembly elected through universal suffrage is concerned, this is clearly unacceptable, because you have the goal some people are striving for, namely a simplistic majority system in which the majority rules totally, this goal in fact becomes the point of departure. Which actually makes further negotiations unnecessary and senseless. Our whole approach is rather

that the new constitution must be the result of negotiations and bargaining. Furthermore, a constituent assembly elected in a general election will allow all participating groups or parties to present their specific constitutional models beforehand, allowing the voters to make a choice. You will then have no actual space for negotiations, because you will then have mandates bound to definite and explicit voters' instructions. That is why we say: Let us negotiate a constitution among the different political organizations who enjoy genuine support, who want to participate, and who want to negotiate peacefully, and that result will be put to the voters in a democratic fashion by way of a referendum, in which the total population as well as the main groups will express their choice.

[Van Heerden] Have we reached a phase where we can talk about a time table for the future?

[Viljoen] I am very reluctant to talk about time tables, because one is not always aware of obstacles which may lie ahead. If one talks about a time table one can easily get stuck. But I have said before that, as far as I am concerned, the negotiation process, assuming a reasonable willingness on all sides to participate, should get off the ground by next year. I would also say that about two years should be allowed for constitutional, economic, social and other related problems, to be discussed and solved.

[Keyter] Z.B., your final question?

[Du Toit] Doctor, you give us very nice assurances, but in the 1988 municipal elections you also said that white city councils could maintain their own facilities. During last year's general election you said that you would not negotiate with the ANC. You also said that you were going to retain own residential areas. You have broken all those assurances. Why would we believe you now?

[Viljoen] During the election, we clearly said that the Group Areas Act would have to go, and would have to be replaced by an alternative arrangement acceptable to all. We clearly said that. The voters know that....

[Du Toit interrupting] You said own residential areas would be retained.

[Viljoen] That is what is being maintained by the Group Areas Act. But we also clearly said that the Group Areas Act will have to go. Own residential areas do not depend on laws. There were own white residential areas, an own community life for different communities in South Africa before the Group Areas Act came into existence.

[Du Toit] Then how are you going to guarantee own residential areas if you don't do it yourself? What guarantees can you give?

[Viljoen] Your idea is that guarantees depend only on legislation. We believe that next to legislation, the organizational skills of a society can determine its own community life—as, for example, the German people in South-West Africa did.

[Keyter] Dr. Viljoen, the final question probably: From within the black communities we hear the criticism that the government is delaying the transfer of power to them. Both Mr. Mandela and Dr. Buthelezi have repeatedly called for an end to the violence. Let us assume that the violence is coupled with negotiations; or rather, the absence of violence [as heard]. If neither Mr. Mandela nor Dr. Buthelezi can achieve that, how do you think you can allay the mistrust that the black community has towards the government regarding this expectation they have?

[Viljoen] Well, in the case of Mr. Mandela and Dr. Buthelezi the issue is very clearly a struggle for political power. Mr. Mandela and the ANC have expressly stated that they regard Buthelezi as a cohort of the apartheid regime, that they regard him as a puppet and they want to marginalize him. And Dr. Buthelezi has clearly shown to have his own power base. That is a different kind of situation, and the acceptance of the rules of the game, namely that one has to give one's opponent the opportunity to exist and to have his own point of view, will simply have to be an absolute requirement and a concrete manifestation of a new dispensation.

[Keyter] The mistrust among the black community towards the government and the negotiating process—how will you overcome that?

[Viljoen] I think the mistrust—if it exists, and I accept it exists—is something which has in recent times shifted markedly. In fact, it is surprising how many opinion polls have shown that large numbers of moderate black people, even people among the Zulu community who do not go along with Inkatha, but also do not agree with the ANC, are looking for a more moderate direction, such as the one the government is espousing, and it is for that reason that the state president has suggested in the parliamentary debates that the government will seek a brought alliance of political organizations who subscribe to the same principle. And the magnitude of that support is growing.

[Keyter] Doctor, unfortunately I have to stop you there. I think all three of us still have numerous questions to ask. Thank you for your time, for your participation. Dries, Z.B., thank you once more, and to you at home—many thanks.

Nation's New Trade Links in Africa Noted

*MB2808141890 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1150 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Station commentary: "South Africa Forging New Trade Links in Africa"]

[Text] Air Zaire's first official flight on its weekly service to and from South Africa took place last weekend.

The flight between Kinshasa and Johannesburg on Sundays will transport mainly passengers, while a reciprocal flight by South African Airways on Wednesdays will transport freight and a few passengers.

Zaire's minister of transport and communications, Mr. Matuiku Kimasi, who accompanied the inaugural flight, said it would strengthen the trade ties with South Africa.

A senior South Africa transport official, Mr. Boy Claasen, said it was another move in the direction of closer cooperation in trade between South Africa and rest of Africa.

The new links with Zaire follow closely on President F.W. de Klerk's recent visit to Madagascar during which a new trade agreement was signed, including an air service.

The South African Airways already has services to Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, the Ivory Coast, Mauritius, the Seychelles, the Comoros, Cape Verde, and the Canary Islands, and private South African Airlines fly all over Africa. South African Airways has also just been granted landing rights in Rwanda.

South Africa's minister of trade and industry, and tourism, Mr. Kent Durr, says South Africa's trade with the rest of Africa now accounts for no less than 32 percent of all its manufactured goods exports. All 51 member states of the Organization of African Unity are now trading with South Africa and this is being done increasingly more openly.

During the past weekend, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia encouraged South African political groups to urgently find a constitutional solution to replace what is left of apartheid. Because, as he put it, the countries of Africa desperately need South Africa's economic power.

Police Detail Charges Against ANC's Dunn

*MB2808154090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1527 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] Pretoria Aug 28 SAPA—The Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria said on Tuesday [28 Aug] ANC [African National Congress] activist Shirley Gunn had been detained because of information that she had, among others, been involved in the Khotso house bomb blast.

The division issued the statement after the African National Congress demanded a public apology from Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok over allegations that she had been linked to the blast.

The division added that other reasons for her detention were information that she had "received training as a terrorist outside the Republic, (and had been) involved in various acts of terror in the republic, inter alia the storage of terrorist weapons."

The division added: "Miss Gunn made a confession to the effect that she had received foreign training as a member of the ANC."

Due to the fact that Miss Gunn had an 18 month old baby in her care, and the investigation thus far indicated that some time may pass before it would be completed, it had been decided to charge her for the illegal possession of a

fireman—"a Makarov which is normally used by terrorists"—and ammunition, and to provisionally release her.

Miss Gunn would appear in court on this charge on October 24.

"The investigation against her is continuing and everything possible will be done to finalise it as soon as possible," the division said.

Ms. Gunn was released from detention on Sunday and said on Monday she was not responsible for the Khotso house explosion.

Police Raid COSATU Headquarters; 3 Arrested

*MB2808175590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1653 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[By Joan Fubbs]

[Text] Johannesburg August 28 SAPA—The South African Police on Tuesday [28 Aug] afternoon raided COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] headquarters in Johannesburg to free one of their constables who had allegedly been abducted and assaulted by COSATU members and to search the premises, Colonel Franz Malherbe, who led the operation, said.

In terms of a warrant of arrest, police arrested three senior members of COSATU, including Secretary General Jay Naidoo and Assistant General Secretary Sydney Mufamadi, also a senior SACP [South African Communist Party] member.

The first of those arrested, Mr. Baba Schalk, a member of the media section, was taken away in handcuffs. The other two were led away without handcuffs.

"This is not an operation related to an unrest situation, but criminal charges that we are investigating. One of our police constables was allegedly removed at about 11.30am from Rissik Street by COSATU members, taken to their headquarters and allegedly assaulted," Col. Malherbe said.

He identified the constable as Joseph Maleka. It was thought Const. Maleka was "removed" from a spot opposite the COSATU building in Rissik Street.

The police operation began about 4.30pm and lasted about an hour. The HQ's offices were also searched by police. It was not clear whether any documents were removed.

COSATU lawyer Peter Harris arrived during the police operation to find out what charges the arrested men were facing. He was told the men were suspects in the alleged assault case and in terms of the Criminal Procedures Act, the men could be held for 48 hours while investigations continued.

Col. Malherbe said bail could be applied for during the 48 hour period in line with normal criminal procedure.

Earlier today Mr. Maleka was paraded at a press conference called by COSATU about an hour after they said he had been caught by comrades spying on the COSATU building.

He told journalists he had been recruited by police at a Sebokeng nightclub to monitor the movements of ANC [African National Congress] and SACP member Miss Geraldine Fraser.

COSATU said he had been in possession of a walkie-talkie and two photographs of Miss Fraser who recently returned from exile.

Mr. Maleka, who appeared terrified, sat with his jersey pulled over his head and spoke hesitantly, said he had been given two photos of a young woman and told to watch for her as she entered and left National Acceptances House, headquarters of COSATU and the National Union of Mineworkers. He had been promised R [Rand] 500 to R600, he claimed.

"They (the police) said I must radio them when she leaves the building so that they can arrest her," Mr. Maleka said.

He claimed to have gone to John Vorster Square on Monday for "training" in the use of the walkie-talkie and said he had started his stake-out of COSATU headquarters today (Tuesday).

In response to a request from a journalists he called up his "contact" on the walkie-talkie but the brief conversation which ensued produced nothing of consequence, with the other party not appearing to know who Joseph was. There was no indication of who he had been talking to and the conversation ended with him being told to "turn off your radio or shut up."

Towards the end of the conference Mr. Maleka, who had been persuaded to pull down his jersey and reveal his face, said he feared the police would kill him.

COSATU officials were skeptical of his story that he was a civilian "recruit" who had been forced through unemployment to take up the assignment for the cash. One suggested he was an "askari."

But they promised him the services of a lawyer and said they would provide him with a "safe house."

Miss Fraser showed journalists the two photos and explained they were enlarged copies of her ID photograph taken when she was 17 and a copy of her passport photograph.

"For some time now I have been aware that I have been under surveillance. On August 10 the security forces kept watch on my parent's home in Cape Town. Later on Monday, August 13 the Caledon Square police station rang my parent's to ascertain my whereabouts.... They asked for my physical address."

Miss Fraser said she had informed the ANC legal advisor Mr. Pennual Maduna and also Mr. Walter Sisulu (ANC internal leader) about the surveillance.

"They contacted Pretoria but were told the government was not interested in arresting me."

COSATU General Secretary Jay Naidoo told the press conference he was convinced there were elements in the security forces who are not only attempting to destabilise the progressive movements but who were also intent on assassinating some of its members. He said there had been at least three forced entries into the offices of COSATU and NUM [National Union of Mineworkers] and that for some weeks now National Acceptances House had been "watched."

"Today our comrades intercepted Joseph who has told us how he was recruited on the promise of R500 to R600 just to watch out for Geraldine," Mr. Naidoo said.

"When he found out he was spying on a comrade he asked Geraldine to forgive him."

Mr. Naidoo said despite informing the police on several occasions of plans to attack the ANC or COSATU, it did not appear as if their complaints had been investigated.

"But they have the time to spy on us...not to protect us."

"Unless President (F W) de Klerk does something concrete...unless he goes beyond his verbal assurances and roots out those elements committed to undermining the progressive movements...by assassination...then we must presume tacit government support for these actions," Mr. Naidoo said.

Commenting tonight on Mr. Maleka's press conference statements, Col. Malherbe said Mr. Maleka had been speaking under pressure.... "That could have been his cover story."

Slovo, Others on Nationalization of Property

*MB2808194590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1619 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg August 28 SAPA—The ultimate economic aim for South Africa is communism, according to Mr Joe Slovo, the SA Communist Party secretary general.

Speaking in a SABC television news documentary on nationalisation, broadcast on Tuesday [28 Aug] night, he said:

"In the final analysis, when ultimately real socialism and then communism is achieved, there will be no private ownership of any of the means of production."

Speaking on the same programme, the acting head of the ANC's [African National Congress] Economics Department, Mr. Tito Mboweni, was unable to give a guarantee an ANC government would pay compensation if it nationalised land, an SABC news report said.

"The government may decide to compensate. The government may not decide to compensate," he said.

According to Mr. Henry Kenney, a lecturer at the Wits Business School of Economics, the ANC has a large number of followers with heightened expectations which it would want to reward.

"A very easy way of doing so would be to replace feather-bedded white beaurocrats with feather-bedded black beaurocrats, and enlarge the public sector at the same time," he maintained.

Mr. Kenney added it seemed it was the "prospect of plunder" which attracted support for the ANC.

The president of the SA Youth Congress (SAYCO), Mr. Peter Mokaba, denied the ANC was making "economic demands" in order to canvass support.

He emphasised the "deprivation of the people was real", and "by liberation our people understand that their real life experience in terms of what they shall have gained must change."

According to Mr. Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation, most South Africans were under the impression South Africa has had a capitalist system and that capitalism and apartheid were either the same thing, or operated simultaneously.

In the future, however, anything other than a free market economy would be "perpetuating in new clothes what blacks have suffered under all these years," Mr. Louw argued.

Group Condemns Cutting Services to Township

*MB2908092890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0910 GMT 29 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 29 SAPA—The United Municipalities of South Africa [UMSA] on Wednesday [29 Aug] condemned the cutting of services to a black township by a neighbouring Conservative Party-controlled council, and said they would take up the rent crisis with State President F.W. de Klerk.

On Tuesday the Carolina town council cut off water, water-borne sewage and electricity supplies to neighbouring Silobela township, plunging some hundreds of households into darkness and lack of vital water supplies.

In a statement released by UMSA president, Mr. Tom Boya, the organisation said "high-handed" attitudes would not resolve the ongoing rent boycott, and called on white councils who wanted to act likewise to adopt the attitude of ESKOM [Electricity Supply Commission], who said they had no intention of cutting off supplies in spite of the backlog in service payments in many black townships.

"The so-called 'rent boycott' was about to be resolved and this has been strongly indicated by the ongoing negotiations between various civic bodies, local authorities (and) including the Transvaal Provincial Administration," the statement said.

UMSA, it continued, treated the rent boycott as a priority, and it was resolved at the organisation's most recent meeting that an urgent meeting be sought with President de Klerk to discuss the matter before it was too late.

TPA Reacts

*MB2908101890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0940 GMT 29 Aug 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Aug 29 SAPA—The Transvaal Provincial Administration [TPA] on Wednesday [29 Aug] said residents living in rent boycott-affected areas were warned about the possible consequences of such action.

Reacting to the cutting of electricity, water and water-borne sewerage supplies to the Silobela township by a neighbouring Conservative Party-controlled council, the TPA's Mr. Piet Wilkens said a campaign advising people to pay for their services was underway.

He said soon the TPA would not be able to provide bridging finance to townships affected by rent and service boycotts "simply because there is no more money."

Mr. Wilkens said he would not comment on the actions of individual town councils as they were autonomous bodies.

Bank Chief Says Interest Rates Not To Ease

*MB2808133990 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] The governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr. Chris Stals, says interest rates will not be reduced for the time being.

Delivering his annual address in Pretoria, Dr. Stals said that although the time was approaching for a relaxation of monetary policy, South Africa was not yet ready for such a change. He said it was clear that the country was moving in the right direction as far as monetary policy objectives were concerned.

However, he said that despite a down trend in the rate of inflation and growth in money supply the decline had not been sufficient to warrant a reduction in interest rates.

29 Aug Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2908132790

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Demand for Fair Land Distribution—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 29 August in a page 18 editorial says "constitutional matters" may "prove relatively easy to resolve compared with the issue which underlies and fuels much of the acrimony in the dispute: land." "The demand for a fairer land distribution, voiced by all black organisations, cannot be denied. But it must be tempered against the test of productivity and the paramount need to feed a rapidly growing South African population." What is required is "a careful

programme of affirmative action which prevents further concentration of wealth and land and facilitates the smooth transfer of land from unproductive white land-owners to productive black farmers."

THE DAILY MAIL

Call To Make Shooting Inquiry Findings Public—"Commissions of inquiry that are instituted as a matter of urgency should be made public as a matter of urgency too," warns a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL* in English on 28 August. The paper refers in particular to the judicial commission of inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings of 26 March, ordered by State President F.W. de Klerk. "The state president's office has intimated that a statement on the Goldstone report will be issued this week. We hope the announcement is accompanied by a copy of the judge's findings in full."

De Klerk Must 'Clean Up' Security Forces—Editor Allister Sparks writes on page 10 of Johannesburg *THE DAILY MAIL* in English on 29 August: "We are going to have difficulty reaching the promised land of the new South Africa unless something is done to clean up the security forces, particularly, the police." "De Klerk must take his courage in his hands as he has done before and initiate a comprehensive sanitising operation. It must begin at the top, with a new minister to replace the wimpish Adriaan Vlok—someone with a clear vision of what is needed and the strength of personality to achieve it."

BUSINESS DAY

Reserve Bank Against Lowering Interest Rates—"Given the sudden ending of hopes that Middle East tensions would result in another gold bonanza for South Africa, there will be little surprise that Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals has held the line against lowering interest rates," notes Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 29 August in a page 10 editorial. "Stals concedes that we have a sick economy. But when he says that popular muti [medicine] will ultimately make the patient worse, nobody should doubt that, for as long as he believes necessary, the doctor will prescribe strong medicine."

Mandela Mediation in Middle East—A second editorial on the same page says it is "tempting to question whether Nelson Mandela's interest in becoming a mediator in the Middle East is not misplaced." "While Mandela's personal stature is beyond question and he is idolised worldwide, diplomacy has not been his strong suit. He has annoyed Jews with his comments on Zionism, and Britons with his views on the IRA. Even his current trip has been criticised for its timing in view of the state of the nation at home."

SOWETAN

Open Johannesburg 'Too Fast' for Government—The Johannesburg council "is opposed to certain sections of the city being declared 'free settlement areas' and intends applying for the entire city to be open," notes the page 8 editorial in Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 29

August. "It would be one effective blow against legal residential apartheid. But that appears to be too fast for the Government. It still has to 'protect communities'," as was noted by deputy minister of Planning Mr. Andre Fourie who said the council was "jumping the gun" as the government was "working on abolishing the Group Areas Act and replacing it with measures that would give protection to communities." "This is another case of the Government trying to keep one eye on the ball of reform, but getting its attention distracted by what is happening on its right."

* Phenomenon of Ultrarightwing Groups Explored

90AF0543A Cape Town *THE ARGUS* in English
24-27 Jul 90

[Special Reports by Graham Linscott]

[Part I, 24 Jul 90 p 17]

[Text] South Africa seems suddenly to have lurched backward in time—either to 1914 or 1939. Armed men are at large, threatening insurrection. Bombs explode, uniformed para-military units parade.

As in 1914 and 1939, they are white right-wingers. The issue this time though is not participation in an overseas war. It is the prospect of constitutional negotiations involving the African National Congress [ANC] and the Communist Party.

The hackles of the right wing have been raised in unison. Exclusive rule by whites is seen to be slipping away. The process has to be stopped.

The unanimous clamour in right-wing quarters is for a General Election, on the grounds that the government does not have a mandate for its present course. The favourable Umlazi by-election result has sent a frisson of anticipation through right-wing ranks.

They are just as unanimous that a referendum on a constitution already negotiated would be no acceptable substitute for an election prior to negotiations.

Home Guards

If constitutional avenues are blocked, extra-parliamentary options will have to be explored, the right-wingers say darkly.

Young men are being recruited into private commandos. There are the Wenkommandos (Victory Commandos) of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the MAN (Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme) commandos of a maverick Herstigte Nasionale Party figure in the Pretoria district. The Conservative Party [CP] is quietly encouraging the formation of "tuiswagte" (home guards), rural and urban, to operate with a low political profile.

All are formed expressly for protection of life and property. But they operate independently of official security structures and in a country where every young white man has

military training—and many have actual combat experience—they have an unmistakable potential.

However, the right-wing mobilisation has to be put into perspective.

The extremists and activists come from a fringe representing less than one percent of the white electorate. This is an estimate by the police, supported by analyst Wim Booyse, director of a political and labour risk consultancy.

By far the largest para-military right-wing organisation within that one percent—the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]—has had no part in the recent pattern of violent incidents. According to its leadership, it will not be deployed unless the police and army are no longer able to protect whites.

Fragmented

The extremists are highly fragmented. At least 46 different right-wing organisations have been identified overall, which makes it difficult for the police to keep tabs on them. But it also rules out concerted action.

And—critically important—there are serious doubts as to whether the CP, which forms the huge bulk of the political right wing, would ever abandon its respectable middle class, parliamentary character to become a party of freedom fighters.

CP Secretary-in-chief Mr Andries Beyers says the party is having difficulty containing the anger and impatience of some of its supporters. But so long as the government leaves the door open to parliamentary action, the CP will not opt for violence.

He warns that if President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela should between them close the avenue of the ballot box for the Afrikaners to regain their freedom in their own fatherland, they would regard themselves as an oppressed people.

"And if we become an oppressed people, at that stage we will have no choice other than to use basically the same methods that oppressed peoples normally use to regain their freedom."

However, he adds that this point has not been reached.

"We are of the opinion that the constitutional way has not been closed altogether at this stage. This is not the time for war talk."

The CP's dilemma also has parallels with 1914 and 1939.

"I think you have to look at history," says Professor Albert Venter, of the Political Science Department at Rand Afrikaans University.

"There can be no doubt that when the 1914 Rebellion broke out, General Hertzog and his Nationalists were deeply sympathetic. But they stayed out of it because they were a respectable, parliamentary political party and wanted to stay that way.

"When the Ossewa Brandwag [OB] mobilised against the war effort in 1939, Malan and his Nationalists were in an identical position. They were also against the war, but they were a respectable, parliamentary political party and could not go along with the OB's violence.

"Today it's the CP who are in that position. I just cannot see these middle class, respectable people becoming anything else."

In the words of a senior police officer: "We've been through all this before in South Africa. We'll handle it."

The 1914 Rebellion was put down, while the Ossewa Brandwag campaign failed with the arrest and internment of large numbers of its activists. Neither attracted support in numbers large enough to succeed.

But they certainly caused a great deal of trouble.

'We Have a Mandate'

The government has no intention of calling a special general election, according to Mr Renier Schoeman MP [Member of Parliament], chief information officer of the National Party.

He says former State President Mr P.W. Botha met Nelson Mandela on July 5 last year. On July 22 Mr F.W. de Klerk, newly elected national leader of the party, addressed the Cape Congress on the question of achieving a peaceful settlement with the ANC.

During the September election campaign the party put out documents seeking a mandate for a programme, over the next five years, to provide democratic participation for all, along with certain safeguards.

"We totally reject any suggestion that we do not have a mandate. We stand firm on this. All this demand for another election is pointless bravado. We don't give it a minute's consideration."

He says the government is committed—as it has been from the outset—to a referendum among voters before any new dispensation is implemented.

Now There Are 46 Ultra Right Organisations

Political and labour risk consultant Wim Booyse has produced a check-list of 45 right-wing organisations which range from churches and political parties to trade unions, para-military organisations and what he terms "Afrikaner fundamentalists."

At least one more has since formed, bringing the total to 46. They are:

Cultural/political organisations: Afrikaner Volkswag (Afrikaner People's Guard), South African Bureau for Racial Affairs, Oranje Werkers Unie (Orange Workers' Union), Boere Vryheidsbeweging (Boer Freedom Movement), Afrikaner Front, Afrikaner National Socialists, World Apartheid Movement, Afrikaner Freedom Foundation.

Political parties: Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, White People's Party.

Para-military organisations: Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), Kommando-leer (Commando Army), Brandwag Volksleer (Sentinel People's Army), White Front, Aquila Defence Unit, Stormvalke (Storm Falcons), Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasionalisme (Power-action Afrikaner Nationalism).

Fundamentalist organisations: Boerestaat Party (Boer State Party), White Security, Boer Resistance Movement, National Manpower Action, Action Self-defence, Wit Wolwe (White Wolves), Flamingoes, Order of Death, The Israelites, Cape Rebels, White National Movement, White Resistance Movement, Patriotic Front, Boer Army, White Commando, Orde Boerevolk (Order of the Boer People), Purified Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Transvaal Separatists, White Liberation Movement.

Trade unions: White Mineworkers' Union, White Construction Workers' Union, Transvaal Municipal Workers' Union, South African Iron and Steel Workers' Union.

Women's movements: Kappiekommando (Bonnet Commando), Afrikaner Vroue Kenkrag (Afrikaner Women Knowledge Power).

Churches: Afrikaner Protestant Church, Evangelical Reformed Church, Afrikaner Reformed Church, Church of the Israelites.

[Part II, 25 Jul 90 p 23]

[Text] Eugene Terre'blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, says his para-military organisation has not ordered any of the explosions or other recent incidents of violence in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

However, he says the government has put the country on a course for war and revolution. He personally will not cause it—"the government is causing it."

The government could defuse matters by bringing right-wing activists held in terms of the Internal Security Act before the courts—"granting them the rights a murderer has"—and calling a general election to seek a mandate.

He says if there is no election, right-wing activities can be expected to escalate, with unpredictable results.

'Make War'

According to his information there are about 60 right-wing organisations in the country—of which the AWP is by far the largest—which makes it difficult for the government to keep track.

He warns that the government on no account attempt to foist an ANC government on the volk.

"The volk will not accept an ANC government. If that is forced on us, the volk will make war—man, woman and child.

"I promise this miserable government war if they hand us over to the ANC, I will urge my entire movement to this—man, woman and child."

Put to him that the government might be seeking some sort of power-sharing formula rather than a hand-over, he says the proposition is irrelevant.

"The ANC don't have the slightest interest in power-sharing. The ANC will seek the power that the government gives them and use that to force the powers they want."

He says the government is doomed for having turned against its volk with intimidation and force.

He draws a parallel with the 1914 Rebellion and the activities of the Ossewa Brandwag during World War II.

"In 1914 the Boers would not accept even a white British authority. In 1939 they wanted to back out of the war and they saw a chance, by violence, to win back their freedom—even from the civilised, white British who had brought in such vast funds and contributed so much to development.

"It is unthinkable that the Boers should now accept a government whose leaders have already declared war on them and said they are going to take over their farms and possessions and nationalise the mines and banks. To nationalise banks means control over our savings, pensions, farm loans and bonds.

"It is unthinkable that a government could even consider handing over its people to communists who have already given notice that they are going to take over their possessions."

Mr Terre'blanche says his Wenkommandos (Victory Commandos) are being organised to protect life and property in the event of a breakdown in law and order. Unless that happens they will not act.

"The white man's experience in Africa is that once governments capitulate, the white population are left over to murderers and terrorists. More whites have been killed in Rhodesia since independence than during the war.

"The commandos' task is to see that people are not murdered by communists nor their property destroyed. Their task is to protect the people when the police and the army are not there to do it."

Recruiting

Mr Terre'blanche has been recruiting young men to the commandos at meetings across the country. He says a commando has been formed at every gathering. But he declines to give numbers—"Vlok wants to know as much as you do."

Mr Terre'blanche also has a message for the Jewish community. He says those of them who supported the ANC's "freedom struggle" and contributed funds to it have been misused by the supporters of Yasser Arafat. They stand to lose a great deal in confiscated capital.

He is tough and uncompromising. Yet one notes that his apocalyptic warnings are based on certain assumptions—that there will be a wholesale hand-over to communism, there will be confiscations and nationalisations and there will be a breakdown in law and order.

In Search of Boerestaat

The AWB runs in tandem with the Blanke Volkstaat Party, a registered party which (along with others) seeks a restoration of the independence of the former Boer republics—Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Northern Natal (including the Richards Bay to Kosi Bay coastal strip)—as a Boerestaat.

However, Mr Terre'blanche says he would support a referendum (among whites) in which, constituency by constituency, other parts of South Africa would be able to decide whether they wished to link up with the Boerestaat, and parts of the Boerestaat would be allowed to decide whether to secede.

Blacks and others would be allowed to live and work in the Boerestaat, so long as they recognised whose territory it was.

'FW Has No Mandate'—CP Demands Election

Mr Andries Beyers, Secretary-in-chief of the Conservative Party, says the government has no mandate to represent the whites of South Africa in constitutional negotiations. (His leader, Dr Andries Truernicht, was not available to be interviewed).

The CP therefore demands a general election. A referendum on an already negotiated constitutional plan is not acceptable.

Mr Beyers says the CP is committed to constitutionalism but the government is not making it easy to keep its supporters in check—"our arms are being chopped off."

The Umlazi by-election result shows a tremendous swing against the government and it would be wise to hold an election, otherwise it is merely exchanging white terrorism for black terrorism.

"So long as the government holds open the constitutional path, we will not opt for violence. As long as the constitutional path is open to us, which means as long as we can regain our freedom—the right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland—by means of a white election, we will not change our strategy to regain our freedom through victory at the ballot box.

"But we must always consider the possibility that Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela may decide to close that road to us, to close the constitutional way. And if that happens, if we cannot any more regain our freedom through victory at the ballot box, then we will regard ourselves as an oppressed people.

"And if we become an oppressed people, at that stage we will have no other choice but to use basically the same methods which oppressed people normally use to regain their freedom."

Mr Beyers says the CP does not condone the actions of individuals such as Mr Piet Rudolph, of the Boerestaat Party, who has "declared war" on the government.

"Also, we are of the opinion that the constitutional way has not been closed altogether at this stage. This is not the time for war talk."

He says there is no point in the CP participating in round-table discussions which include the ANC because the ANC is committed to armed struggle and is communist anyway.

However, the CP is available for discussions with legitimate leaders, on condition that the right of whites to self-determination is accepted.

The party is also prepared to negotiate a fair partitioning of the country, he says.

"If people accept our right to self-determination, we are willing to negotiate the final boundaries because we realise that the country must be partitioned in a fair way that will meet the aspirations of our people as well as others. So we are prepared to make sacrifices as far as territory is concerned.

"But we will never withdraw our claim to meaningful, real self-determination—the right to govern ourselves in our own fatherland." Tomorrow: Focus on Robert van Tonder and Jaap Marais.

[Part III, 26 Jul 90 p 23]

[Text] Professor Carel Boshoff wears a voortrekker beard, relic of the Afrikaner Volkswag Great Trek celebrations of two years ago, which so eclipsed the "official" trek.

He looks the part: the craggy dominee, one hand on the Bible, the other on the trusty voorlaaiër.

In fact he is the intellectual of right-wing Afrikanerdom. He wants to take his volk on another trek which would amount to a secession from greater South Africa, the establishment of a Volkstaat in the arid West Coast region of the Cape Province.

It is also worth recalling that he is the son-in-law of Verwoerd, that he was chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs—the think tank of Grand Apartheid—and that he was also chairman of the Broederbond. These are good credentials for a partitionist.

Dominance

Prof Boshoff's point, in arguing the Volkstaat, is that the Afrikaner has no hope whatever of maintaining his position in greater South Africa, especially as his birth-rate is declining to a point where Afrikaners could make up only 0.02 percent of the total population in 150 years'

time. Nor, he maintains, can there be any moral justification for attempting to maintain Afrikaner dominance.

If the Afrikaner wishes to retain his language, culture and identity, he has to withdraw into an area small enough to be controlled by his relatively small numbers, an area which is only thinly settled and in which Afrikaners (and other assimilable whites) would dominate without any need for population removals.

In this territory they should provide their own labour and entrepreneurship so that they are entirely self-reliant.

The territory he and a working group have selected—after 20 years' research, he emphasises—stretches from Saldanha Bay (the country's largest natural harbour) on the West Coast, through the Great Karroo to Colesberg, then through Kuruman to take in a section of southern Namibia. (The plan was drawn up before Namibian independence, in the belief that Namibian Afrikaners might trek south to join up with the Volkstaat.)

It is a dry, desolate and inhospitable stretch of territory. But Prof Boshoff says it was chosen not just for lack of human population but because it is here that the desert will bloom.

The Orange River development scheme (not yet complete) will produce present-day South Africa's fifth economic growth point, he says. About 260,000 hectares of fertile land will come under irrigation. These will produce lucerne, cotton, maize, wheat, deciduous fruit, vegetables, citrus and other crops, as well as wool and meat.

Abandon PWV

The territory has infrastructure and a capacity to absorb dense settlement, he says. It has no known mineral resources, which is a benefit. Mines only attract vast numbers of unskilled labourers. The most prosperous nations of the world do not rely on mineral resources either, they rely on their people's skill and productivity.

Prof Boshoff says the Afrikaner has to abandon the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging [PWV] industrial complex, Southern Africa's powerhouse.

"One would rather have the best and be rich, but the PWV is not compatible with a Volkstaat. There would either be a continual power struggle or domination or a combination of both."

He says he realises not all Afrikaners would trek to the Volkstaat, but they would always have that option which would make them more secure, wherever they were in South Africa. It would be analogous to the sentiment of Jews world-wide for Israel.

Prof Boshoff is a member of the Conservative Party, though his plan is not party policy. He hopes it will be adopted in something approximating its present form.

"I'm concerned that it should be a workable partition plan, otherwise we merely inherit the dilemma of the National Party."

He would be willing to put his plan to a constitutional conference (unlike the CP leadership, which says it would boycott such a conference) in the interests of peace.

"The threat of violence is serious. It could spread. It's the reaction of people who see it as appropriate. Piet Rudolph has R50,000 on his head—the ANC threatens violence but has no price on its head."

"We need to secure the freedom of the Afrikaner people—without violence. That is why the Volkstaat is so important."

Jaap's 'Verwoerdian Dream'

Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP], is a weathervane in right-wing politics, as well as a survivor against all the odds.

An uncompromising protagonist of Verwoerdian apartheid carved in granite, he has seen the fortunes of his party swing from ignominious defeat in 1977 to winning one third of the Transvaal vote in 1981, then back again to ignominious defeat as right-wingers flocked to the newly-formed Conservative Party.

Yet he hands in. Today he shares a political platform with Eugene Terre'blanche, of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, in spite of having distanced himself in the past because of the AWB's extra-parliamentary programme.

Mr Marais has always been a parliamentarian. He justifies shifting closer to the AWB by the fact that the government has changed the rules, narrowing the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action.

He warns that by refusing to call a general election to seek a mandate for negotiations with the African National Congress and others, the government is closing the door to normal, constitutional political activity.

The alternative is not necessarily violence—mass mobilisation is another option. He has urged the CP to resign all the seats it holds on local councils so that a series of by-elections could humiliate the government and prove conclusively that whites do not support negotiations with the ANC. But the CP has refused to go along with it.

Mr Marais says the present situation is fraught with danger and warns that the fugitive Piet Rudolph should be handled very cautiously.

"In an unstable political situation the slightest thing can have great consequences. For example, in 1914 the great events of the Rebellion had less influence than the shooting of Jopie Fourie."

"In the present unstable situation a trigger pulled somewhere can have very serious consequences."

He says the commandos being jointly organised by the HNP and the AWB are for defence of life and property in the

event of a breakdown in law and order. He concedes though that in a fluid political situation their role could change.

He maintains that, whether it realises or not, the government has already abdicated to the ANC. He predicts that the ANC will have elected its own unofficial "people's parliament" to make an input to constitutional negotiations.

One demand would be the removal of security forces from black townships, which would be followed by widescale intimidation, which would lead to the creation of a state of general ungovernability as the final lever to make the government accede to ANC demands.

Although Mr Marais joins other right-wingers in demanding a general election, he does not believe a CP victory would be the answer.

"They are not tough enough. We would just have a replay of the Vorster era—ambiguity and vacillation. Some of them are prepared to negotiate, others not."

He rejects CP notions of a radical territorial partitioning.

"Verwoerd spoke of a 'smaller' South Africa, not a 'small' South Africa. We want to hold and control South Africa as it is, minus the black homelands."

He says the HNP will stay in the field because, as the CP attempts to build a moderate image to attract votes, true conservatives will swing back to him. The country needs a principled opposition party of the right.

Campaigning for a Boerestaat

Robert van Tonder is not an Afrikaner, he is a Boer. The Boers, he says, inhabit the territories of the old republics of Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Vryheid (Northern Natal) which were wrongfully seized by the English in 1902 after the "English War" and forcefully incorporated with the Union of South Africa.

The fact that he speaks the same language as the "Cape Dutch" is immaterial he says. The Cape Dutch are not Boers. They did not fight in the Frontier Wars, they did not go on the Great Trek, they did not fight the Matabele and the Zulus, they did not fight the English.

He makes it clear that he regards the Cape Dutch as being in collusion with the English in subjugating the Boer language, tradition and culture.

As leader of the Boerestaat Party, it is his cause to secure once again the internationally recognised independence of the old republics. He has petitioned the United Nations—most recently when a UN delegation visited this country to examine political developments first-hand. He was received.

He maintains that a Boer state based on the three former republics would be a viable proposition. It would have access to the sea at Richards Bay, St Lucia and Kosi Bay (which he calls Krugerhawn) because this coastal strip was illegally seized from the Vryheid Republic by the British in the late nineteenth century.

He says the word "Afrikaner" is an artificial one invented after Union in 1910 and is as meaningless as the expression "South African." There is no nation of either.

He says the "so-called Nationalists" made a fatal mistake after the Versailles peace conference in 1919.

A delegation under General Hertzog went to argue the case for restoration of the independence of the Boer republics, in terms of the expressed policy of the victorious allies toward subject nationalities. When they were rebuffed, the Nationalists opted instead to work for political power within the framework of the Union.

'It was fatal for the Boer people. We were drawn into a huge conglomerate—English, Cape Dutch, Zulus, Xhosas, Indians, all kinds of people. We don't want to rule them and we don't want them to rule us.'

He argues that the Boers are a distinct African nation who happen to be white. They are not colonial settlers and, left to themselves in their own territory, would be accepted by the rest of Africa which has also rejected colonial rule.

Instead they have been dragged into an unwanted role as political rulers.

'Not only are they trapped in the framework of enslavement of their British conquerors, the stinking record of oppression of the colonial British has reflected on them and, during the same freedom struggle of Africa, they have become the polecat of the world.'

Mr Van Tonder agrees that his Boerestaat would include the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging industrial complex, which has become the powerhouse of Southern Africa. But this presents no problem because the case for the Boer State rests on international legal principles.

'We were legally recognised by the world. We did not come here for gold, it was open, empty country. Everything here belongs to us.'

To many, Mr Van Tonder's cause might sound so forlorn it is hardly worth canvassing.

Yet his deputy, 'Piet Skiet' Rudolph, is on the run from the police. he has 'declared war' on the Government having, on his own admission, stolen weaponry from an Air Force armoury. Shots have been fired at the British Embassy. Melrose House (scene of the signing of the Boer surrender) has been bombed.

For some the struggle continues.

[Part IV, 27 Jul 90 p 13]

[Text] Do the right wing enjoy a special status due to infiltration of the police and the military?

How is it that a fugitive such as Piet Rudolph can remain at large having, by his own admission, robbed an air force armoury and been responsible for various incidents of violence?

The questions are often asked, but the police deny vigorously that there is any lack of commitment in action against the right wing.

"You must remember that for 30 years we were keeping the ANC and others under surveillance," says Brigadier Leon Mellet, spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

"We had infiltrated them so thoroughly we knew everything they were doing.

"Now, suddenly, we have to look at new groupings. These right wing extremists are so fragmented they have no line of command to intercept. It is tiny groups acting on their own, getting orders from nobody.

"They are not easy to pin down, but even so we have made significant arrests and there will be more. We will get Piet Rudolph."

He says the police force obviously contains right-wing sympathisers.

"We're not naive enough to believe anything else. We also have ANC sympathisers, you can't avoid it.

"But politics are not allowed in the force. And we act against anyone who breaks the law."

And the military?

Democratic Party Defence spokesman Mr Roger Hulley MP says he does not believe right-wingers could have infiltrated the Defence Force to the extent they could serve their cause.

"The higher you go in the officer corps of the Defence Force, the more professional they become. They serve the government of the day and I just can't see them getting involved in right-wing causes or disobedience of any sort.

"You've also got to remember the structure of the army in Citizen Force regiments. Some might be commanded by people with right-wing sympathies, but there will [be] many more with other sympathies.

"And then there is the Broederbond. This is one of F.W. de Klerk's power bases and it is reasonable to assume that there are Broeders in the senior officer corps also.

"If people think the Defence Force might support the right wing in some kind of rebellion or coup, I say they are quite wrong. It just doesn't work that way."

'F.W. Has Taken Most of the Risks'

One of the strongest arguments of the right wing in its injection of the government's progress toward constitutional negotiations is the continued adherence (if only in rhetoric) of the African National Congress to the strategy of armed struggle.

It is also one of the strongest justifications for counter-violence on the part of right wing extremists.

Until the ANC unequivocally renounces the armed struggle, militant right-wingers will be able to argue that they are doing no more than defend themselves and their own.

And until the ANC drops its campaign for sanctions and its doctrinaire demands for nationalisation and radical redistribution of wealth, right-wingers will be able to accuse the government of being in collusion with economic saboteurs who are also bent on depriving people of their possessions and savings.

"Both President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela have to take risks with their constituencies," says Professor Albert Venter, a political scientist at Rand Afrikaans University.

"Mr De Klerk has taken most of the risks so far. Now that Mr Mandela's overseas tour is over, he has to address questions at home, show statesmanship and be prepared to offend some of his constituency by reassuring whites as to their future."

Angola

President on Rebels' Status, South Africa

PM2808150190 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese
18 Aug 90 pp A1, A12

[Benjamim Formigo dispatch: "Eduardo Santos Admits to Having No 'Clear Ideas' About Savimbi"]

[Text] Luanda—The granting by the Angolan Government of a special status for UNITA [Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi seems to be out of the question. In an interview with EXPRESSO, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos acknowledged that the matter was considered at Gbadolite, and that "at that time there were clear and precise ideas on how to handle the matter. Now we have none," he said.

In the Angolan president's opinion, the picture has changed. "Because of its own needs, our system is evolving into a multiparty system, and so, after the elections, everybody will survive in accordance with the people's verdict."

In the next round of negotiations between the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and UNITA, which were initially scheduled for 21 August and will take place in Portugal at the end of the month, Luanda intends to submit, according to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, "ideas which have been formulated on the terms and conditions of a cease-fire and also on the machinery for monitoring it, which, in addition to Angolans, will comprise representatives of other (neutral) countries." These ideas and some others have already been conveyed to Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva.

According to the Angolan president, the two previous meetings, sponsored by the Portuguese Government, were of "an exploratory nature. In an initial stage, they were confined to clarifying the government's stances, since we had a nine-point plan to resolve the problem of the war drawn up since April. At the second meeting, a little more progress was made, views were exchanged on the substance of those principles, and agreement was indeed reached on most of them."

However, although "differences persist, the difficulties are not insurmountable. With flexibility on everybody's part, it is possible to find a solution soon. We uphold the idea that the cease-fire must be a priority."

In addition to the issue of the revision of the Constitution, which will be effected in two stages and on which "committees are working right now," there are also the economic reforms which the government has been preparing.

Jose Eduardo dos Santos emphasized the need to make the transition from a centralized economy to a market economy. "It is necessary to create an economic management system in which the economic laws will clearly operate. Until we restructure our financial system and

set up a banking system appropriate for a market economy, we will be unable to resolve the problems of the privatization measures and of boosting manufacturing, or to talk about foreign investment."

South Africa

Following Namibia's independence and the election of a new president in South Africa, relations between the two countries seem to be changing. The Angolan president regards South Africa as "a changing country. President de Klerk," he said, "has expressed good intentions and has taken some steps which lead one to believe that he is able to carry them out."

On South Africa's role, Eduardo dos Santos stressed that in the region "it is the country with the most developed economy, and has a considerable technological capability. It is potentially rich, and could work on a complementary basis with other countries to develop the area's resources and to improve the population's living conditions."

Luanda Comments on Lisbon Talks with UNITA

MB2808202290 Luanda ANGOP in French
2001 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Lisbon, 28 Aug (ANGOP)—The third round of direct exploratory talks between the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] began in Portugal on Monday [27 Aug] under the good offices of the Portuguese Government.

The Angolan Government will present concrete proposals for a cease-fire agreement and its supervision in the course of these talks.

The Angolan delegation is led by Deputy State Security Minister Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos Nando. The UNITA team to the talks is led by Mr. Alicerces Mango, its representative in the Portuguese capital.

According to an initial communique, the UNITA team should have been led by UNITA Information Secretary Mr. Jorge Valentim, who had said he had full powers to discuss all issues relating to peace in Angola. However, the UNITA suddenly changed its composition last weekend, replacing the leader of the delegation. This could cause delays to a process that seemed to be moving forward.

Portugal is represented at the talks by Mr. Durao Barroso, secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, who has accompanied the Angolan peace process so far.

It should be recalled that UNITA decided to abandon the negotiating table last June under the pretext that the delegation had to return to Jamba, the UNITA headquarters, for consultations.

Observers in Portugal believe UNITA's decision to reduce the level of its delegation and its intransigence in linking a cease-fire agreement to recognition as an opposition party is yet another ploy to gain some time.

Commentary Urges MPLA To Recognize UNITA

MB2808193890 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 1912 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Commentary: "The interests of oppressed Angolans will always be defended]

[Text] [No dateline as received] The positions taken by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] on the third round of direct negotiations which began yesterday in Portugal between our glorious movement and the People's Republic of Angola aimed at bringing to an end the fifteen years of civil war are unequivocal and of extreme flexibility.

According to our explanations, time has come when Angolans should treat fellow Angolans as equals and as sons of the same country. The 15 years of destruction war without truce has left profound wounds among all Angolans. Those that belong to MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], UNITA or any other political tendency in Angola, wounds which [Words indistinct] Angolan family.

Accordingly, UNITA thinks that in the interest of the war-torn country, only through mutual respect can a sound nation be constructed. What is important is that the two belligerent parties UNITA and MPLA workers party discuss peace on an equal footing.

No one has the right to impose whatever he wants. It is only efforts to bring closer together the two parties for the sake of peace, freedom and democracy for the sacred wish of Angolans that can be accepted. Any impositions or the spirit of superiority by any of the two belligerent parties is condemned and will be an obstacle to efforts aimed at attaining peace and national reconstruction in Angola.

It is through mutual respect that harmonious discussions that UNITA has extended to recognise the Government of the People's Republic of Angola a hand of mutual recognition, as the first decisive step towards a real and definitive ceasefire.

We are for a lawful peace process. The phases have to be rigorously observed and complied with. All of us Angolans want a ceasefire. [sentence as received]

It is necessary that the two belligerent sides sign the ceasefire agreement and recognise each other. UNITA has already done that by recognising the People's Republic of Angola[;] what remains is for the People's Republic of Angola to do the same to UNITA.

We do not believe that it is in the interest of peace that the People's Republic of Angola refuses to recognise UNITA, before taking steps towards a ceasefire. Why

and for what reasons are MPLA leaders and the MPLA government have to insist always on the obvious [words indistinct] UNITA firmly maintains to defend the interest of the oppressed Angolan people. Peace will have to be achieved at all costs. The invention of terms by the People's Republic of Angola trying to burn phases is a clear adverse attitude to peace. Peace has to be achieved with UNITA. So there cannot be any other option other than the recognition of UNITA by the People's Republic of Angola.

UNITA now - forward UNITA now - cohesion UNITA now - quickly

United around President Savimbi, we will win.

UNITA Communique Rejects Attacks on Clergy

MB2808201690 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 1920 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Communique issued by the UNITA Political Bureau in Jamba on 27 August]

[Text] [No dateline as received] 1-For many years, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leadership issued orders to all its commanders at battle fronts to scrupulously respect all religious personnel and their institutions. These orders have been rigorously complied [with]. Thus, as recent examples, we can point out that after the large scale combats which took place at Gulungo Alto (Cuanza Norte Province), Gabela and Ebo (Cuanza Sul Province), Chinguar (Bie Province), Bangalas (Malange Province), Bailundo (Huambo Province) and Sanza Pombo (Uige Province), UNITA found Catholic religious personnel in all these localities and all of them received best care and good treatment from UNITA forces.

2-However, after the possibility of irregularities having occurred during the battles of April, 1990 in the town of Bailundo came to the knowledge of the UNITA leadership, UNITA immediately nominated a political-military commission to carry out an inquiry in order to verify the truth of these irregularities.

3-The result of this inquiry will be made known to the general public. It should, however, be immediately made clear that these irregularities do not include any acts of abduction of novices or any other religious personality. Jamba, bastion of the Angolan resistance, August 27, 1990 year of salvation of the country and the conquest of democracy.

*** Text of MPLA-PT Central Committee Communique**

90AF0444A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party distributed the following communique yesterday at the end of its 25th anniversary session:

The Central Committee of the MPLA-Labor Party met in its XXV session during the period 27-30 June and 2-3 July, 1990, under the leadership of MPLA-Labor Party President Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

1. In his opening speech, the Comrade President invited the Central Committee to focus on topics of extreme importance for the life of the Party and the development of the Angolan nation, as contained in the Order of Works.

Within the framework of the popular debate of the Project Plans for the III Congress, he placed particular emphasis on broadening the Party's social base, saying that the trend among the majority is favorable to such a broadening and that the MPLA's popular nature is being maintained.

Emphasizing that the MPLA-Labor Party should be prepared to win its position on its own merit within society, fighting and winning political battles and not imposing itself by decree or repression, the Comrade President called attention to the need to study the methods of mobilizing and recruiting members and implanting the Party among workers and peasants, administrative officials, managers, intellectuals, and students, as well as analyzing in a correct and realistic manner the question of the affiliation of property owners.

In addition, with respect to the administrative officials, managers, intellectuals, and students, to whom he referred as important points of support for the MPLA and the MPLA-Labor Party, he warned as always that these sectors of society should deserve special attention because of some ideological confusion that is now being experienced as a result of the changes occurring in Eastern European countries.

With respect to the Party program, he said that it should necessarily correspond to the concerns of the masses, considering that the country's stability will be greater depending on how much larger and better qualified the majority is that accepts it, which could also contribute to those tasks requiring harmonization and complete national unity. He noted that in light of his program, our Party is a progressive party of socialist leanings.

In his speech, the Comrade President also emphasized the need to change the Party's work methods with respect to State organizations, the control over government activities by the People's Assembly, and the reactivation of the Economic and Financial Recovery Program.

2. The Central Committee evaluated and approved the reports of the Political Bureau and the Central Control and Review Commission, the Party Reform Program, the report on the results of the Blueprint Discussion, and planned projects by Party members and citizens in general, indicating that implementation of those tasks not directly dependent upon realization of the III

MPLA-Labor Party Congress should be initiated immediately, with a fundamental view toward:

2.1. The Party Level

a) Restructure and de-bureaucratize the Party central and local apparatus.

b) Restructure the methods of government orientation and control, taking into account the separation of Party and State functions.

c) Create Central Committee commissions that will permit all members to participate more actively in formulating decisions, and comprising for this purpose the following:

1. Commission on Domestic Life, Cadre Policy, Media and Religion;

2. Commission on the Political System, Law, and International Policy;

3. Commission on Socioeconomic and Agrarian Policy Questions;

4. Commission on Questions of Defense, Security and Domestic Order.

d) Restructure the Project Plans for the III Party Congress taking into account the proposals and suggestions of the Party base organizations and the citizens assigned Party leadership, as well as organize their publication.

2.2. The State and Society Level

a) Continue the work already initiated on the Constitutional Law in two phases; the first involving carrying out the adjustments necessary for solidifying the functioning of the institutions, and the second a comprehensive review.

b) Adopt measures for the efficient organization and functioning of the State central and local administrations, accelerating the formulation and implementation of its reform mechanisms.

c) Perfect the mechanisms for the control of government activities by the People's Assembly.

d) Accelerate the process of public discussion and approval of the laws of Association and the Press.

The Central Committee approved the measures to be taken with a view toward increasing participation on the part of citizens in general, and the social, professional and religious organizations in the political, economic and social process, to consolidate independence and national unity.

2.3. The Economic and Social Level

a) Relaunch the Economic and Financial Recovery Program and accelerate its implementation.

b) Adopt measures to improve activities linked to education and health, and prepare the conditions for formalizing the Alliances Policy in these sectors:

In the area of education and teaching, the Central Committee recommended that responsible State authorities closely analyze the application of the "Alliances Policy" in the sector, determining which teaching levels and/or subsystems can be affected by the activities of entities other than the State, covering in this study the difficulty of providing social assistance to students without damaging the principles of educational democracy and equal access to schooling and the continuation of studies.

In this respect the Central Committee also recommended that in the near future legislation be produced and approved and practical mechanisms established to permit the extension of professional training and adult education.

c) Create conditions with a view to improvement, within an acceptable period, in the supply of essential goods and other social services to the population.

d) Maintain close monitoring of the measures already taken with respect to the drought affecting the country, and continue to mobilize aid from the domestic and international community.

3. The Central Committee, within the framework of the results of the broad public debate on the Plans and Blueprints, has concluded with respect to the current political system that under objective conditions for peace, stability, and internal security, and with respect to the history and the reality of our country, the People's Republic of Angola will evolve toward a multiparty political system through the constitutional review and approval by popular referendum.

4. The Central Committee was informed on the development of the domestic peace process and encourages the President of the People's Republic of Angola and the government not to resist efforts to overcome the obstacles that continue to be raised. In addition, it exhorts the international community to discourage foreign intervention that continues to disrupt our domestic peace process.

5. On analyzing the military situation in the national and regional context, the Central Committee praised the Armed Forces and the Security and Internal Order organizations for the firmness and patriotism demonstrated on the battlefield for the preservation of the Angolan people's conquests, and exhorts them to continue intransigently in defense of the integrity of the fatherland's soil until peace is won.

6. The Central Committee evaluated the new plans for the Party Program and Statutes to be submitted for discussion by Party militants.

7. The Central Committee approved the Central Act Program plan and the Work Agenda plan of the III Congress, as well as the Central Committee's election mechanisms.

8. The Central Committee decided to convoke the III MPLA-Labor Party Congress for December of this year.

*** Displaced Persons in Kwanza-Norte Receive Aid**

90AF0440C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Article by Isidoro Natalicio]

[Text] Ndalatando—The German Agrarian Action (AAA), a nongovernmental organization from the Federal Republic of Germany, has recently completed the first phase of the implementation of the assistance program for those displaced by the war in Kwanza-Norte Province, with positive results.

A thousand tons of millet, 400 tons of beans, almonds, fish and domestic utensils were donated to displaced persons concentrated in the Ndalatando and Golungo Alto camps.

They admitted, however, that of the 20 tons of clothes distributed, 40 percent were taken by opportunists who were not considered displaced, a figure that also would apply to the distribution of the other articles, primarily cooking stoves and soap.

During the second and last period dedicated to agrarian development, however, 12,000 hoes, 12,000 machetes, 5,000 shovels, 50 tons of millet seed, three tons of macunde bean and 35 tons of Zimbabwean almond, which displayed excellent germinating power, were distributed.

The implementation of this program, which aims at self-sufficiency in certain crops, also suffered bottlenecks not only because of the explosive increase in the number of displaced persons but also the weak rainfall recorded, since during the beginning of the agricultural season (September/October) there was practically no rain at all. There was also a lack of agrotechnical assistance, which prevented better rationalization in the use of seeds and thus better results.

The primary difficulty, however, was the lack of available soil, as the 650 hectares involved in the program were far from satisfying the need. Despite all that, the harvests were reasonable and opened new hope for the future. All that investment provided by the AAA was sponsored by the EEC (European Economic Community) and totaled 3.84 million German marks, of which 1.7 million were devoted to the purchase of merchandise and some goods of primary importance.

As expected, the AAA will delay its implementation activities for the project's second phase, which involves assisting 20,000 displaced persons, for one more year (until April 1991), although it is known that there are

now 40,000 displaced persons, and a series of precautions are currently being taken to ensure that everything will be successful.

They are thus attempting to perform a rigorous classification of the displaced persons, define priorities, and count the number of the recently arrived, and those exempt from any extra assistance (family members). Aiming at improving agricultural performance with respect to the past, four agricultural assistants have been placed at the disposal of displaced persons in Ndalatando.

In its turn, the BMZ (Ministry of Technical Cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany), although without defining the amount, has already guaranteed financing for the acquisition of food, in particular 1.5 tons of millet, two tons of dried fish, salt, and vegetable oil. This selection of supplies, which was done on the basis of the beneficiaries' food diet, could be strengthened by including other crops produced this year, such as potato, mandioca, etc.

Given its state of imminent emergency, in the near future the province's AAA project is dependent upon the evolution of the politico-military situation in the region; if it is unfavorable, the project will end next year because it cannot be delayed for several consecutive years, since it is possible and logical that the institution will divert its resources to the south of the country, to save the victims from the whip of the long drought that is lashing that region.

However, if the situation is favorable, it is likely that there will be continuity for a third and final phase aimed at the social reintegration of the displaced persons in their respective areas of origin. Various articles will be placed in those localities for the purpose of attracting them and nurturing the pleasure of returning to their native land.

* FAPLA Reports UNITA Casualties in Uije

90AF0440A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 28 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Nineteen UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] individuals dead, two captured and a quantity of war materiel seized, were the results of Angolan Armed Forces (FAPLA) activities from the 17th to the 25th of this month in Uije Province.

According to a communique distributed yesterday in Luanda by the Chief of Staff [EMG] of the Angolan Armed Forces, FAPLA also seized 24 weapons during the same period, including three machine guns, four grenade launchers, two 60-mm mortars and two antitank missiles.

The FAPLA EMG communique disclosed, however, that UNITA killed 12 FAPLA soldiers, wounded 24 others and kidnapped 23 unarmed civilians in its bandit activities. He also added that on 19 July UNITA ambushed a

civilian vehicle on the Bungo-Quinzana road in Uije, kidnapped a civilian, and burned two vehicles.

The communique from the EMG of the Angolan Armed Forces concluded that in the face of UNITA's warlike activities and two acts of terrorism, "which are only possible through military support provided to them by the U.S. and the Republic of Zaire," FAPLA will continue to exercise its right of response, severely punishing the enemies of peace.

* Sixty Former UNITA Members Freed

90AF0440B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese
28 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] Sixty former UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] members were freed yesterday under the auspices of the Amnesty Law decreed by the Angolan Government on 4 February of last year and renewed this year.

The act of releasing the prisoners, between 14 and 69 years old, who had been captured in combat activities in the center and south of the country between 1983 and 1989, occurred at Sao Paulo prison in a ceremony presided over by Chief of the Reintegration Office of the Ministry of State Security [MINSE] Colonel Margoso.

MINSE Penitentiary Services Coordinator Major Emilio Santos explained that it is only now possible to apply such measures in practice, for security reasons.

"If we had done this at the beginning, we are certain that we would be putting the heads of our compatriots into the lion's mouth," he said.

He added that various contacts had been made with the Secretariat of State for Social Affairs, the Reintegration Office, and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security for the purpose of integrating these prisoners into new roles within society.

Chief of the Reintegration Office Colonel Magroso, representing the Minister of State Security, demonstrated his satisfaction at the freeing of these compatriots, who can return to their communes and municipalities so as to, together with their families, reconstruct this immense country, fighting against UNITA.

"UNITA only destroys, robs, and kills our unarmed people, and for that reason you should fight this puppet group," he said in his speech.

It is to be remembered that last 1 May, 1,800 former UNITA members were also freed on the basis of the Amnesty Law at the Bentiaba Prison Unit, of whom more than half have preferred to be integrated into the civilian structures of the aforementioned prison.

* Machine Importing Company To Diversify

90AF0440D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 29 Jun 90 p 3

[Text] The Angolan Machinery and Equipment Importing Company (MECANANG) has spent in the past year 355,872,016 kwanzas acquiring equipment from overseas, Director General Luis Gonzaga Teca told ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency].

This total represents a decrease of 33 percent with respect to the amount utilized in 1988 for the purchase of equipment, and an increase of 108 percent over the 1987 total.

The same source added that the principal suppliers are the Soviet Union, the United States, England, Portugal, and the German Democratic Republic.

In its new strategy MECANANG has legally associated itself with "Angola Motors," with a 30 percent ownership stake.

In addition, Gonzaga Teca said that his company is also now managing the "Correia House" and the former "Sorel Company," and has signed agreements of intent for the creation of mixed corporations, joint ventures, and associations.

According to the same source, the agreements of intent will provide MECANANG an ownership stake in the technical assistance companies and private firms trading in universal pieces and products.

He added that it is his collective's intent to transform itself into a type of holding company, diversifying its activities, monitoring the use of resources placed at the companies' disposal, and safeguarding the "know-how" and reputation acquired during its 10 years of existence.

The company, led by the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, was created in March 1980 and has 400 workers.

MECANANG has as principal clients the Party, Provincial Commissariats, state and private enterprises, and individuals.

* Bulgarian Official Reinforces Cooperation

90AF0452C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese
1 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Enio Savov, Bulgarian vice minister of foreign affairs, who has been in our country on an official visit since last Friday [29 Jun], is carrying a message from Bulgarian President Petur Mladenov to his Angolan counterpart comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

The official was received yesterday at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Angolan Vice Minister Domingos Manuel N'Ginga, with whom he discussed issues of bilateral interest. Savov also met yesterday [30 Jun],

with Angolan Minister of Planning Franca Van Dunem, with whom he discussed economic relations between the two countries.

"The range of cooperation between our countries is fairly broad; it includes agriculture, industry, commerce, energy, and petroleum—besides other areas that have been so fruitfully and successfully developed," Franca Van Dunem emphasized.

The Bulgarian vice minister of foreign affairs pointed out that his government is going to exert efforts to develop current ways, such as the creation of mixed companies and branches. Similar plans may possibly be carried out in the area of fisheries, the manufacture of motorized pumps, and the joint production of forklift trucks and other equipment.

"Relations between our two countries have traditionally been good, and can develop further in every sphere, depending on the interests on your side," Enio Savov said later.

He then added that both countries are facing economic difficulties and that he will discuss the ways to get out of this situation with his Angolan colleagues during his stay in this country.

Concerning the political situation in Bulgaria, Savov praised the holding of the first free and democratic elections, in which not only the Bulgarian Socialist Party but other politicians, movements, and organizations took part on an equal footing. The Socialist Party was the victor, with 52.7 percent of the votes, and won 211 seats in the legislature.

Savov also said that the first session of the legislature is scheduled to convene on 10 July, and that it will determine the measures to be taken and the guidelines to be followed.

Meetings are scheduled for tomorrow with Minister of Foreign Relations Pedro de Castro Van Dunem, "Loy"; Minister of Commerce and Industry Dumilde Rangel, who is co-chairman of the Angolan/Bulgarian Commission; and Cunha Neto, governor of the National Bank of Angola.

Prior to the delegation's departure, scheduled for late tomorrow afternoon, a bilateral cooperation protocol will be signed between the foreign ministries of Angola and Bulgaria.

* ENDIAMA Diamond Scandal Exposed

90AF0452B Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
21 Jul 90 p 7

[Commentary by Rui Ramos]

[Text] In Angola, the big shots in the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] seem to be more concerned about settling accounts among themselves than in contemplating war and peace.

Proof of this are the dossiers on corruption which, as an expert in Angolan politics confided to SEMANARIO, "must have come from the leaders of the MPLA themselves because, in a totalitarian country, it is not just anyone who gets a chance to photocopy secret files on cases that are being investigated within the private offices of the cabinet ministers."

"That means"—our source continued—"that the infighting has become more sophisticated." In these countries, dossiers on corruption are like nuclear weapons. Since everyone has files on everyone else, no one dares to use them. But once someone has his finger on the button, you can expect the worst."

Well, in a country where almost a million people may die of hunger this year, it is revolting that among the politicians and state corporation executives we find individuals who are accused of embezzlement and crimes against the national economy involving more than \$250 million. And that these individuals are still at large, untouched and untouchable, as if their arrest could affect people even higher up...

The case file that came to the attention of SEMANARIO was meticulously organized and contains not only detailed charts on everything from the "laws violated by the principal offenders," to "amounts of the losses to the RPA [People's Republic of Angola], broken down by individual," and the "summary of irregularities," but also a long introduction that formulates a sort of "general theory on corruption" in Africa and Angola.

The tone is standard Marxist-Leninist vulgate. The accused are termed "reactionary and corrupt elements of the petit bourgeoisie"; and it is said that "the same hand of imperialism and its agents is behind all of this"; that "internal and international reactionaries are attacking the Revolution through corruption and various illegal practices."

The economic structure of Angola, whose resources are today based almost exclusively on oil and diamonds—and whose purchases on world markets range from foodstuffs to weapons, with a heavy emphasis on the latter—favors such corrupt practices. The tendency is also reinforced by the fact that the cloak of secrecy surrounding the lobbying operations abroad and the activities of the Angolan secret services in Europe are financed by earnings that are not subject to any kind of control.

So it is no wonder that it was at ENDIAMA, the government diamond mining and marketing company, that the "hard core" of the corrupt and corruptors set up shop—although, as we can see from the report in Monday's PUBLICO, there are some in the petroleum industry too.

And, as a Portuguese industrialist with long experience in Angola told us, there are the weapons purchasing

departments, where the deals are extremely lucrative and sellers are accustomed to paying high commissions to get the business.

The "principal" accused parties—and here the criterion refers to the volume of losses caused, in U.S. dollars—are high officials of ENDIAMA: Noe Baltazar, the director general and a mining engineer; Alvaro Craveiro, assistant director general and an economist; Manuel Joao Almeida Sobrinho, a technical engineer and director of the Cuango mining region; Manuel Rui Alves Monteiro, a jurist; and Augusto Germano de Araujo, a geologist. The losses and diversions of funds imputed to each of these individuals range between 230 and 250 million dollars!

A second list of offenders, operating on a more modest scale, includes both Angolan citizens and foreigners: Sergio Monteiro Costa (\$227 million), Renato Teixeira Herminio (\$160 million), Christian Rudolf Hellinger (\$146 million), Ray Smith (\$118 million), and Andrew Smith (\$116 million). Of these, only Sergio Costa is Angolan. One of the group is the notorious Hellinger, a German who for some years now has been the darling of the Angolan party big shots and the leading "private" businessman operating in Angola.

The "economic crimes" committed by these men and the other accused include everything from destroying equipment to force subsequent purchases of new items, to illegal export of diamonds. Overbillings (and underbillings), falsification of documents, and diversions and theft of diamonds were involved. Accomplices within the Central Bank and Customs Service are also named.

Of course, the accusations do not mention any political personalities. That there is a connection with political leaders is certain, however: the impunity enjoyed by these individuals and the ease with which they were able to act can only be explained by the complicity of top level political connections. (The case is coming to light now only as a result of the official inquiry, but had long been talked about in Luanda...)

One of the documents in the case to which SEMANARIO gained access is a statement by the ENDIAMA workers' cell in Lunda. Its authors "beg pardon" for not identifying themselves, saying: "This letter is not properly signed, since militant courage is no use in the party now," and "militants and the BPVs [members of the People's Vigilance Brigades] who denounce the leaders are punished, and the party does not defend them." This is something which, they say, "did not happen in the days of the late Dr. Antonio Agostinho Neto."

The authors of this lengthy document—20 handwritten pages—present a whole list of charges, directed in part against some of the persons already mentioned here (like Noe Baltazar, who is called, variously, "Jehovah's Witness," "CIA agent," "anti-MPLA," and "Minister Loy's nephew." According to the workers, he "has a lot of people in high places who can pull strings for him." These include presidential adviser Col. Jose Maria and

Assuncao Anjos, secretary to Jose Eduardo dos Santos; comrades "Onambue, Loy, and Kundi Paiama, the all-powerful minister of state security whom he (Baltazar) recently bribed with a new car.)"

Baltazar has committed a lot of other crimes. He offers and distributes the miners' food supplies to his friends in Luanda. He gives out ration cards to be used in the ENDIAMA shops to more than 400 people who do not work for ENDIAMA. He gives free transportation even to some leaders such as comrades Onambue, Justino Fernandes, and Galvao Branco.

At the end of this statement there is a "list of bosses who were bribed by Dr. Noe Baltazar in order to make the people of Lunda Norte suffer and to help him and his families and friends get rich." The conclusion is that, at this level, the corruption of the "bosses" is of a much lesser degree than that of the high officials.

Onambue, for example, "received a Mercedes 'jeep' from ENDIAMA, a Mercedes from Mr. Hellinger, and several ration cards." Gen. Toko got a Range Rover, and Lt. Col. Farrusco a BMW from Hellinger. As for former Minister of External Relations Mbinda, Presidential Secretary Assuncao Anjos, and Minister of External Relations Loy, are all having, or have had, their houses "rebuilt" by a Portuguese company, which sent the bills to ENDIAMA. Offers of cars, home remodeling work, ration cards, and travel for relatives, are the principal benefits gained by these personalities (19 of them in all), who are accused by the ENDIAMA workers in this document—sent from Dundo and dated 16 Feb 1990—of having allowed themselves to be corrupted.

The release of this report, which can only have come from the top echelons of party leadership, seems to mark an escalation in MPLA-PT's "second civil war," one that is being waged not against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] but in the rank and file of the party itself.

It is, in fact, a battle in which no quarter will be given—especially because the accused certainly have the ammunition needed to retaliate and, if persecuted, will not fail to do so and drag their enemies down with them. Incidentally, the atmosphere at the last meeting of the Central Committee was so thick you could have cut it with a knife. There was a curious "diabolical alliance" between Kito—considered a "moderate" and anticommunist, and Roberto de Almeida, the leader of the most orthodox members—against Jose Eduardo dos Santos. What they (Kito and Almeida) have in common is that they are generally considered incorruptible and find themselves and their people passed over by the circle of the "president's men." Loy seems to be their number one target, along with Col. Jose Maria and Assuncao Anjos. Observers also concluded, however, that it would be very hard for Jose Eduardo dos Santos to sacrifice his trusted aides and outlive them...

Mauritius

* Hospitals Hit; Gobordhun Resignation Suggested

90AF0433B Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French
8 Jul 90 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed article: "Grumbling and Frustration Among Hospital Administrators"; first two paragraphs are L'EXPRESS introduction; italicized passages published in English]

[Text] The source of the problem: the administrative system currently in force in which all power is said to be in the hands of the *regional health directors*.

"The firing of Goburdhun might be the solution."

The premature departure on 1 July of Mr. A. Nathay, administrator of Candos Hospital, following those of Gassin, Bissessur, Jean-Louis (deceased), and Khodabaccus, causes a profound malaise these days among this category of officials. According to information gathered by L'EXPRESS, frustration, grumbling, and lack of motivation have reached a peak among these officials.

According to reliable sources, this frustration of hospital administrators is due to the administrative system currently in force in which all administrative power is said to be concentrated in the hands of the *regional health directors*.

These same circles feel that if the government does not take action as soon as possible, the situation in the hospitals will deteriorate. The public will suffer the *consequences*, they added. Perhaps the solution would be for the government simply to dismiss the minister of health, Mr. J. Goburdhun.

They feel that the minister is part of a bad system. Some say that the minister did not do anything to try to change the health administration system. There has been a gradual erosion of resources targeted for the hospitals to the benefit of community health centers.

These same circles feel that the ministry should first of all have consolidated the hospital *structure* before committing itself to the implementation of a program of creating community health centers throughout the island.

Scapegoats

These same circles stated that the Ministry of Health system, as it currently exists, has turned the administrators into scapegoats when things go wrong.

Among the grievances of the hospital administrators, one should note:

- the disparity between salary and the responsibility they have to assume;
- the status of the administrators who, under the current circumstances, cannot legitimately assume their

- professional responsibilities;
- the current system is a hindrance to management according to the international norms of hospital management. Thus it is currently impossible to create an environment in which the public would have an efficient health service at its disposal;
- the lack of means of transportation to visit the subsidiary hospitals and community health care centers scattered across the island;
- the slowness of the Ministry of Health in filling some 300 vacant "hospital attendant" positions and 100 vacant service positions;
- the state project to implement a modern administration formula at the Rose-Bell Hospital, while the archaic system would remain in force at the other hospitals;
- the refusal to make a clear-cut distinction between management as a full-fledged profession and the role of the doctors;
- the lack over these last 12 years of a retraining plan for the administrators. With the departure of Mr. Nathay, it could be that three administrators will take on the work of 12, required for the health service, including the regional administrators.

Responsibilities

The administration of a regional hospital, placed under the direct responsibility of a "regional health director", is divided into three sections, which are the direct responsibility of the same "regional health director". First, there are the medical responsibilities of the chief hospital manager, then there are those of the "nursing administrators" and of the hospital administrator.

In addition to his primary responsibility, the "regional health director" concerns himself with everything related to the medical side. On the average, he is in charge of about 80 doctors. There are two "nursing administrators" for the male and female nurses. They are assisted by eight "nursing supervisors", for approximately 400 personnel.

As for the "hospital administrator", he manages directly an average of 600 individuals, employees whose responsibility does not relate directly to medicine.

The task of the administrator relates to a whole series of responsibilities: financial management, all the hospital's personnel, public relations, relations with the unions, conception, implementation and follow-up of projects, building maintenance, "catering", laundry, equipment replacement for all departments, both medical and administrative.

He also concerns himself with the "hospital districts", in addition to about 20 to 30 "health centers".

The administrators feel that the fact of being a doctor does not necessarily mean that the individual has any predispositions to assume administrative functions, given that management is a profession in and of itself.

The administrators who currently occupy those positions were specifically trained to this effect in England.

These same circles stressed that an improvement of the health services will require, among other things, the gradual implementation of the recommendations included in the *Management Audit Bureau* (MAB) report and an in-depth review of the concept of administration as currently in force in the Ministry of Health.

Mozambique

Namibia's Geingob Sees Beira, Returns to Maputo

MB2908070390 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1730 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob returned to the Mozambican capital earlier this evening after an eight-hour visit to Sofala Province and Beira city in particular.

In Beira city this afternoon, the Namibian official and his delegation toured the complex of experimental agricultural implement project.

Earlier, Sofala Province Governor Francisco Masquil hosted a lunch in honor of the Namibian team. He began by warmly welcoming the visiting team to this part of Mozambique.

[Begin Masquil recording] We say welcome to those comrades who have long fought by our side in the struggle for liberating southern Africa. We have fought to bring justice, cooperation, democracy, and progress to this region. We have also fought for the independence of our countries and the elimination of apartheid in this region.

It was this year that the people of Sofala Province and the country at large joyously followed the events leading to Namibia's independence. We regard your victory as our own. [end recording]

In reply, Namibian Prime Minister Hage Geingob said:

[Begin Geingob recording in English fading into Portuguese translation] It is a great honor for me to be in this part of Mozambique. Normally, when we visit a country, we only see the capital and accept we know the country. However, the members of this delegation are honored to have been given the opportunity to see Beira, another Mozambican city.

Our visits to Maputo and Beira help us understand why Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] has a reputation for receiving well. We have just emerged from a brotherhood of colonial subjugation. Now, we are moving in another direction. [end recording]

BBC Notes Claims of Renamo Camp in Kenya

*MB2808183890 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Earlier this month, the Mozambican News Agency, quoting military sources reported that a battalion of Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels had entered Mozambique after training in Kenya.

Carl Meyer in Maputo has been looking into this allegation and, on the line, Akwaya Musso asked what he had been able to find out.

[Begin recording] [Meyer] It is very difficult to confirm or deny that particular claim but it is quite clear from talking to diplomats in Maputo as well as government people that there is some sort of military camp up in Kenya. Defense Minister Chipande has said it is a bit north of Nairobi and exactly what is going on up there is difficult to say but Renamo fighters are in a camp up in Kenya. I think that is quite... [changes thought] I do not think really anyone has any doubt about that anymore.

[Musso] Now, does this come from government claims or have you been able to corroborate it from other sources?

[Meyer] Sure. In fact, the people talking about it most right now are Western and African diplomats here in Maputo, some of them with quite strong representation up in Kenya itself. I think the question comes really as exactly what this camp, or camps, are. [sentence as heard]

It could be just a, like I say, I have heard of a (?holding) camp for people who are in the Renamo army or they could actually be receiving training. Some of the allegations are that they are receiving training from Kenyan officers, so I think it is there [words indistinct] the question what exactly is going on inside the camp, whether the fact that the camp exists I don't think is in question.

[Musso] Now, you have mentioned the camp. Are there any other ways in which Kenya is said to be helping out Renamo? I mean, for example, in arms or transport links?

[Meyer] The relationship goes back a while but, certainly, in the past year the relationship has strengthened quite a bit to the point where Renamo.... [changes thought] their main contact with their headquarters inside Mozambique is through a radio in Nairobi. Of course, when the Renamo negotiating team says they are going to Rome for the two rounds of talks with the Mozambican Government, their travel documents are provided by Kenya's (?law), although I do not think that is too controversial. I think the Mozambican Government is quite happy that Kenya is providing this.

[Musso] There have been some press reports that Renamo even gets its arms through Kenya. Have you found anything to corroborate that?

[Meyer] Well, that is the allegation. It is again some government sources are saying that, that it is a logical touchdown point because, apparently, the theory goes that they are not getting these arms through South Africa anymore, that last year President de Klerk pretty much committed his government to shutting down any type of arms [word indistinct] from South Africa, although there are still questions about that as well.

[Musso] Does all this mean that Kenya has become Renamo's biggest foreign backer and replaced South Africa in that role?

[Meyer] I guess it is really difficult to say how you would measure it but, clearly, I think, there are more people advancing through Kenya, more Renamo people and more Renamo logistics and help is coming through Kenya right now than probably anywhere else. [end recording]

*** Machungo on State Agricultural Sector**

*90AF0503A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
20 Jul 90 p 1*

[Text] Prime Minister Mario Machungo said he has no doubt that the state agricultural sector now represents a cause for concern with regard to the national economy. The Mozambican leader stressed that this sector is facing a number of problems—namely, difficulties in the administrative area, a shortage of management people, and technicians with the proper know-how, capable of achieving an advanced and productive level of agriculture.

Speaking last Wednesday to about 50 participants at the opening of a roundtable discussion on the state agricultural sector, Mario Machungo said that among the aforementioned difficulties is that of the General State Budget [OGE] which cannot continue to share in the foreign-exchange credits of the state agricultural firms and especially to think that the OGE can provide subsidies at the rate maintained in recent years.

"We must find solutions based on experience, on reality, but taking into consideration the fact that any company, whether a private agricultural firm or a state or cooperative venture, must function on the basis of economic principles," said Machungo.

The prime minister went on to say that the objective must not be to consolidate the state agricultural sector, which is inefficient, but also to not to defend that inefficiency at all costs as being a form of state property, for this could also harm the national economy and impede food production.

Speaking on the effects of the war, the Mozambican official stated that the war destroyed the infrastructures and equipment of the state agricultural sector, forced a

reduction in trade relations, led to the exodus of skilled technicians—both domestic and foreign—involved in the sector's technical aspect, and reduced the volume of investments incurred by these firms through the OGE. All of this occurred between 1983 and the present time.

"Recourse to bank credit emerges as the only option capable of assuring the ongoing operation of the agricultural enterprises, whose foreign exchange credits now amount to more than 75 million contoss," the prime minister declared.

In his speech, Machungo stressed that the crisis in the state agricultural sector should also be based on other factors connected with the state agricultural enterprises. Lack of definition in the development model, so fervently desired, the gradual nature of the transitional phases, and the lack of orientation given by the ministries of agriculture, finance and banking, not to mention the provincial structures, also had a negative effect on the state agricultural sector.

In Mario Machungo's opinion, the roundtable discussion should, without due complication, confront the problem of the agricultural enterprises with courage and resolution, determining which role should be reserved for the state enterprises, considering that they owe their existence to what is economically viable, and particularly let the state carry out its role of guide and definer of development policies.

Machungo said that we must make it possible for brokers, companies, private business people, and cooperatives to operate within a set of norms defined by the state so that they might carry on an economic activity which is both profitable and dynamic.

"State agricultural enterprises, which were considered of no interest by the state, should be sold on the basis of legislation in effect in keeping with precepts established by the government. We have no problem selling them," said the prime minister.

The positive economic results obtained by agricultural enterprises in the private and joint sector using foreign capital and the experience of the General Union of Agricultural Cooperatives of Maputo [UGCAM] should serve as a reference point for our analyses, in the prime minister's opinion.

Mario Machungo asserted that the situation being faced by our people should brook no delay in the solution of such an important problem as that of the restructuring and reorganization of the agricultural sector. The reorganization of the state agricultural sector will naturally involve the entire land arrangement.

Meanwhile, the roundtable discussion which is scheduled to last until this coming Wednesday [25 Jul] will also be attended by national directors in the Ministry of Agriculture, general managers of state agricultural enterprises, and other participants associated with this sector.

The purpose of the roundtable discussion is to analyze the current situation of the state agricultural enterprises and study ways to overcome any other problems being discussed by the sector.

*** Status of Displaced Persons in Mecuburi Noted**

90AF0503B Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
13 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] Approximately 44,000 people in the district of Mecuburi, in Nampula Province, are now in a state of emergency due to the war which, year after year, is getting worse in this area. According to information given to Governor Alfredo Gamito on his recent trip to that area, administrative personnel in that province indicated that there are now 17 centers housing people displaced by the war. This was the number of centers existing in 1989; in 1988 there were only seven centers of that type, according to our source of information.

They also said that there were 102 children badly in need of support for their survival. Both the children and the 44,000 aforementioned displaced persons are being assisted by the international community through the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN] and certain religious entities operating in Mecuburi district.

Education and Health Yielding Results

Despite the difficulties brought on by the war, the district is making every effort to raise the level of education and health through programs prepared by those sectors.

In the educational sector, of the 56 primary schools existing in 1983, only 47 are operating regularly, with a total of 10,100 students enrolled in the 1st to 5th years.

The only secondary school in Mecuburi is one which had an enrollment of 389 students this year of whom 260 were in the sixth grade and the rest in the seventh, taught by 260 teachers, seven being on the secondary level. Mecuburi district also has six adult-education centers teaching adults to read and write; there are 340 individuals assisting people who are illiterate.

With regard to the health sector, despite the shortage of medical personnel and medicines, the expanded vaccination program achieved 90 percent of its objective, which was to vaccinate 22,066 of the 23,853 people originally planned. In like manner, there were 3,457 cases of prenatal care, less 337 anticipated by the plan; and 3,815 children were given medical treatment for various illnesses.

Agricultural Sector Needs Further Development

In comparison with other sectors of economic activity in Mecuburi, the agricultural sector is the one which has the most potential resources, but because of the destabilizing activity of the armed bandits as well as the irregularity

and nature of the rains, the efforts made by the local organizations have been in vain.

The current campaign decreased drastically compared with that achieved in the 1988-89 period. Of the 42,688 hectares originally planned, only 39,450 hectares were achieved, with a harvest of 74,097 kg of various products. In the current campaign only 32,018 hectares were planted compared with a target of 54,258 anticipated by the plan, with no provision made to increase this area.

Mecuburi's agricultural sector has the potential of producing corn, peanuts, cashew nuts, and sesame, among other products.

According to the latest inventory, the agricultural and cattle-raising sector accounts for a total of 1,000 goats, 2,000 pigs, 1,000 ducks, 7,000 chickens, 17,000 rabbits, and other animals. According to the district's veterinarians, there has recently been an outbreak of African swine fever, and this is being combated in conjunction with rabies which has afflicted many dogs.

* Gaza, Inhambane Roads To Be Repaired

90AF0503E Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
12 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Tertiary roads in Gaza and Inhambane are scheduled to be repaired in keeping with a program financed by Sweden through the United Nations Development Program [UNDP].

In fact, the Swedish Government has allocated close to \$2 million to be used for the purchase of equipment for restoring and maintaining the tertiary roads of Chokwe, in Gaza Province, and Inharrime and probably Funhalouro or Massinga, in Inhambane Province, according to a source from the National Directorate of Roads and Bridges [DNEP].

The project, to be carried out by the Ministry of Construction and Water through its DNEP, is in keeping with the emergency program covering the restoration of roads and bridges.

The program is designed to improve the access roads and thereby facilitate the flow of emergency goods and agricultural products produced by the peasants in the districts designated as priority areas in keeping with the aforementioned emergency program.

In order to accomplish this objective, an accord was signed Tuesday in Maputo between the Swedish Government and the UNDP, said documents being authenticated by Lars Wahlund, charge d'affaires on the part of Sweden, and Peter Simkin, UNDP's representative in Mozambique.

* Norwegian Group Aids Displaced Persons in Guro

90AF0503D Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
20 Jul 90 p 3

[Text] Redd Barna, the nongovernmental Norwegian organization which is carrying on various activities in our country for the purpose of providing our people with emergency aid as part of the so-called Emergency Program [PE] and which is particularly concerned with children who have been abandoned and victimized by the war, is now taking steps to provide additional assistance to the 22,000 displaced persons located in the district of Guro, in Manica Province. This information was recently given to NOTICIAS by Ernst Schade, who is in charge of the Norwegian fund for aid to children in Mozambique. He then went on to say that the organization is now distributing food, clothing, and agricultural equipment through the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters [DPCCN].

In addition to the distribution of food, clothing, and agricultural equipment, the Norwegian fund for child support is also planning the reconstruction of facilities for water supply, medical assistance, and grain processing, according to our source of information.

Our information source added that these measures, to be financed by Redd Barna in coordination with other nongovernmental organizations operating in Manica Province where there are 21,000 persons displaced and victimized by the war and housed in shelters located in Chimoio and Gondola, also include the training of peasants as a way to encourage them to produce their own food and cease to depend on handouts.

The Redd Barna representative in Mozambique stated that in addition to these community activities, including the restoration of schools, clinics, and public toilets, a nutritional program was launched for the benefit of the children who were recently brought back from captivity by the armed bandits.

Simultaneously with this activity a reforestation program was launched in the schools and party committees. According to our source, a number of projects were also launched in the form of incentives for catching fish and providing other proteins of animal origin.

To assist the Mozambican people who were displaced and victimized by the war and natural disasters, the nongovernmental organization needs about 1.2 million tons of grain this year.

In speaking of the difficult situation facing the Mozambican people, the Redd Barna representative revealed that a study carried out by his organization last year indicated that 37 percent of the country's children are suffering from malnutrition, only 30 percent have access to health services, 13 percent are deprived of potable water, and about one million Mozambicans are refugees in neighboring countries.

It is to be noted that Redd Barna is currently providing assistance to about 100,000 people in dire straits in the provinces of Manica, Sofala, and Tete where provisions were made to construct 10 clinics, 12 schools, and permanent warehouses for emergency products supplied by his organization.

*** Appeal to Donors in Fight Against AIDS**

90AF0450A Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
4 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] Yesterday the vice minister of health, Dr. Igrejas Campos, stated that the economic crisis confronting the country has led to a budget cut for the social sectors, especially health, that precludes their bearing the costs of a large-scale epidemic, such as AIDS, without the backing of the international community. Igrejas Campos spoke at the opening of the second donors' meeting intended to mobilize financial resources for the second phase activities of the three-year program to combat that pandemic disease.

The Health Service needs \$6 million to carry out the activities program in this phase without major obstacles. However, that sum was not obtained yesterday, although all the donors have expressed their willingness to continue financing the program. At the conclusion of the meeting, during the evening, it was announced that \$4.187 million had been made available, leaving those in charge of the program partially satisfied.

According to Igrejas Campos, the economic difficulties facing the country are reflected not only in the government's inability to provide primary health care to the majority of the population, but also in its lack of capacity to meet other fundamental health requirements. Thus, the reduction in the budgets allocated to this sector caused, for example, a decline in the per capita spending during the period from 1980 to 1989 ranging from 4.5 to nearly 80 cents on the dollar. This situation shows how impoverished our country has been left, owing mainly to the war, which has left thousands upon thousands of Mozambicans without any health care and in extremely wretched living conditions. Igrejas Campos claimed that it was thanks to international aid that the National Health Service could be kept operating throughout the past 10 years. Otherwise, it would have been impossible to render the minimal, sporadic assistance that the service has managed to furnish in some parts of the country.

The vice minister justified the need for international assistance to combat AIDS, declaring that "we must check the progress of the disease insofar as possible, to prevent the number of victims from growing at accelerated rates," and so as to raise the response capacity of the National Health Service, as is already occurring in some countries.

Igrejas Campos argued: "We want to prevent the AIDS epidemic from forcing us to concentrate all our meager resources on it, which would prevent us from putting the

other health care at the disposal of the population in need of it." He emphasized that Mozambique "still requires support from the international community, which succeeded in responding so well to the financing of the first phase." Over 70 percent of the activity plans for this first phase were implemented, despite the various difficulties besetting the personnel involved.

Then Igrejas Campos gave a general account of the principal activities to be carried out during this phase, underscoring the fact that the displaced, youths, and the military will be involved in health care. He also remarked that the government is bent on saving lives, and during this phase will continue to concentrate efforts on the primary health care level.

WHO Warns of AIDS Danger

However, the representative from the World Health Organization [WHO], Dr. Boal, who also spoke during the opening session, warned that AIDS represents a danger to mankind. He claimed that by the year 2000 the cumulative total of healthy carriers will probably number from 15,000 to 20,000, or even more, if the Asian form of infection from the human immunodeficiency virus makes more rapid progress than the type known to us now. At that point, from 75 to 80 percent of the cases will be located in the developing countries.

The WHO representative revealed that, as of last June, over 260,000 cases of the disease in the entire world had been reported to WHO. Of that number, 23 percent, that is, nearly 65,000, were in Africa, and 113 in Mozambique. He said that WHO had expected at least 700,000 cases to have already have occurred, mainly because it is believed that most of the victims have not been diagnosed or, if they have, the cases have not all been reported. He noted that it is estimated that, during the 1990's, the cumulative total of victims will reach one million, and that by the year 2000 that number may total five or even six million.

According to published data, it is estimated that there are currently from 6,000 to 8,000 infected persons in the world: that is, healthy carriers of the virus. This means that one out of every 400 adults is already infected. The infection is twice as common among men than among women.

Dr. Boal pointed out that these figures taken in an isolated manner may not hold great significance for the man on the street, or even for the less well-informed health worker. In fact, he remarked, one often hears it asked why so many resources are devoted to a single disease, when in the underdeveloped countries there are other factors responsible for high morbidity and death rates among us. He then explained that AIDS is quite deserving of the significance attached to it, for all the reasons that have been cited, and also because the growing number of infected individuals will soon have an extraordinary socioeconomic demographic impact.

Dr. Boal cautioned: "At the current rate of the viral infection's progress among the urban populations of Central and East Africa, during this decade a doubling or even tripling of the general death rates among adults and a 50 percent rise in child death rates may be foreseen."

During the morning, some points raised by the donors were explained. The vice minister of health, the national health director, and the chairman of the National Commission To Combat AIDS provided the necessary information.

Namibia

Contractors To Fetch SWAPO Arms From Angola

MB2808122590 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 24 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "PLAN Arms Stuck; Still No Cannon"]

[Text] A spokesman for the Ministry of Defence has said he cannot supply a date for the return of remaining PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] arms from Angola.

But the TIMES learned reliably [as published] that the government considered getting private contractors to bring the remaining arms into Namibia. Namibian army officers were presently in Angola to recruit prospective officers from the former PLAN fighters.

The first consignment of PLAN arms, donated by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] to an independent Namibia, entered Namibia on April 16. The majority of the arms were outdated, some of them East Bloc and Indian copies of weaponry last seen in operation during World War II.

The arms were said by SWAPO sources to be worth R[and]2 billion, but international experts estimated the first consignment to be worth less than R10 million. The fact that Namibia had to fly a cannon from South Africa, in order to fire the salute on the arrival of President Quett Masire, is an indication of the state of upkeep and the age of the arms which crossed the Namibian border in April.

The TIMES could not determine what arms were to enter the country with the next consignment. It was, however, said that private contractors with mechanical horses with flatbeds were sought by the government. No reaction was forthcoming when the TIMES suggested that this requirement pointed to the fact that the weaponry could not make it across the border on own steam.

Rumours were doing the rounds that some of the next consignment was of such sophistication that it would be

accompanied by Cuban instructors. This was, however, flatly denied by the government.

USSR Team Notes Possibility of Joint Ventures

MB2808080290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2253 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Windhoek Aug 27 SAPA—The Soviet Union's shift to a market economy has made it possible to explore new joint ventures with a number of African countries, leader of a visiting Soviet delegation, Mr. Garry [Garriy] Kuznetsov, said in Windhoek on Monday [27 Aug].

Mr. Kuznetsov is deputy head of the Department for Economic Relations with African and Latin American countries of the ministry of foreign economic relations.

He told a media briefing the 10-man delegation wanted to explore the possibility of joint ventures with both the Namibian Government and the private sector.

The delegates, who arrived on August 15, had held wide-ranging discussions with Namibian authorities and private sector representatives.

There were favourable opportunities for cooperation ventures between the two countries concerning trade and in the scientific and technical fields, he said.

The Soviet delegation submitted proposals on cooperation in the training of personnel, public health, a space photographic survey of Namibia, as well as in geological studies, mining, the development of wells to supply water to rural areas, solar energy and the supply of vehicles for freight transport and the mining industry.

Senior officials from a number of Namibian organisations were invited to visit the Soviet Union to familiarise themselves on potential areas for joint ventures, Mr. Kuznetsov said.

The Soviet delegation is due to leave Namibia on Tuesday.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Receives Message from Saddam Husayn

MB2808145890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1420 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Harare Aug 28 SAPA—Iraqi President Saddam Husayn on Tuesday [28 Aug] sent a message to Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, reports ZIANA national news agency. The message, contents of which were not made public, was delivered to Vice-President Simon Muzenda by a special envoy, Mr. Umaid Mahat Mubarak.

Mr. Mubarak, who was accompanied by the Iraqi Ambassador to Zimbabwe, delivered the message at Mr. Muzenda's Parliament offices.

The Gambia

Doe Resignation Proposed at Banjul Conference

AB2908155390 Paris AFP in English 1509 GMT
29 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Banjul, Aug 29 (AFP)—The resignation of embattled Liberian president Samuel Doe forms the basis of proposals for an interim government put to Liberian politicians and religious leaders by West African mediators in a working paper on Wednesday [29 Aug].

One scenario envisaged by the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in its [words indistinct] sacked his government's ministers and obtained the resignation of the speakers of the national assembly and the senate.

[Paris AFP in French at 1118 GMT on 29 August, in an identical item, transmits the following: "In the first scenario, after the Banjul conference had designated, and all political parties had agreed to, the president and vice president of the future Liberian transition administration, President Doe would dismiss all his ministers, obtain the resignation of the National Assembly and Senate president and vice president, and then resign himself."]

Current vice-president Harry Moniba, acting as head of state, would then call on the person chosen by the conference to be interim president and would hand over power.

An alternative approach would see Mr. Doe depart from office after parties signed an agreement on the names for a transitional regime. Mr. Moniba would form a government comprising a single minister, who would be the new leader designated by the conference. After Mr. Moniba's own resignation, that person would bring in the ministerial team already chosen by the conference.

The ECOWAS mediation committee proposed that the conference also name a legislature comprising renowned politicians, a representative for each county, and representatives of the belligerents. Subsequently general elections could be held in October next year and the new leadership be sworn in in January 1992.

The working paper recommended suspending three articles of the constitution which stipulate that presidential hopefuls must have been in the country at least 10 years and be worth at least 25,000 dollars, and that assembly election candidates must have been there at least a year.

ECOWAS has stationed a five-nation peacekeeping force in the port area of the Liberian capital Monrovia in the hope of imposing a cease-fire but has come under fire from the main rebel movement of former civil servant Charles Taylor.

Mr. Taylor and Mr. Doe have refused to take part in the conference being hosted by Gambia, the current ECOWAS chairman, but a delegation from the splinter rebel movement of Prince Johnson, who has welcomed the monitoring force, was on its way. [passage omitted]

Liberia

The Gambia's Dawda Jawara on ECOMOG Role

AB2808133090 Dakar PANA in English 1231 GMT
28 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar, 28 Aug. (PANA)—Gambian President Dawda Jawara, who is the current chairman of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States], has said in Banjul that the ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group for Liberia (ECOMOG) is not, and should not be seen, as an invasion or occupation force.

Jawara made this point late Monday [27 Aug] when he officially opened a two-day consultation conference of Liberian political parties, interested groups and individuals on the setting up of an interim government for Liberia as envisaged in an ECOWAS peace plan for the war-torn country.

Appealing to all the warring factions to support the mission of the force, Jawara explained that ECOMOG is a neutral force to enable Liberians to freely discuss and agree on their country's future.

According to a Radio Gambia report Monday night, he said the task of the force was to ensure that the terms of the cease-fire agreement to be negotiated by the three warring sides would be adhered to. This was necessary for the creation of a stable atmosphere in which an interim government could function.

The Gambian leader noted the importance of the conference, saying that the ECOWAS initiative had received the support of the OAU and the UN.

Jawara said the attendance of representatives of the OAU and the UN at the conference demonstrated the deep concern of the international community on the grim situation in Liberia.

The onus is on you to arrive at conclusions to end the trauma and usher in a era of security and stability in Liberia. History will not look kindly on you if you do not measure up to this task, Jawara said.

Replying, Mr. Cheick Coney of the Interfaith Mediation Committee, a coalition of Liberian religious groups that began the mediation efforts, said the impressive turnout of all shades of Liberian opinion at the conference was reassuring and reflected the delegates' deep concern about the situation in Liberia.

Coney also thanked Jawara and the other ECOWAS leaders who have proved themselves friends of Liberia in both word and deed. The closed door deliberations, which began on Monday, are continuing Tuesday.

Rebels, Doe Said Reluctant To Leave for Banjul

AB2808160990 London BBC World Service in English
1500 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force is gradually taking up positions in the Liberian capital, Monrovia, a city split by a bloody civil war. The force is composed of soldiers from five member countries of the West African economic community, ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]. President Jawara of The Gambia, the current chairman of ECOWAS, has been presiding over a meeting in Banjul to discuss Liberia's political future. This report is from the BBC's West Africa correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt:

[Begin Blunt recording] The West African peace initiative for Liberia was always intended as an all-round plan, with the military peacekeeping force only part of the whole. On the political side, the plan calls for an interim government, which would exclude all three fighting factions, and whose leader would not be eligible to stand for president when elections were held at the end of 12 months.

The meeting in Banjul has been called to give Liberians a forum to discuss such an interim government. Not just the three fighting factions have been invited, but also political parties and interest groups, such as religious leaders and prominent Liberians from the United States. These other parties have been quick to accept their invitations. But without the main players, the two rebel leaders and President Doe, the meeting will be of limited value, since unless the warring factions finally accept the proposed interim government, it is not likely to come into force. President Doe has said that the interim government should be formed by Liberians inside Liberia, and not organized by ECOWAS outside the country.

Charles Taylor has dismissed as unrealistic any interim government of which he himself is not a member. Even Prince Johnson, who is sending a delegation, has not been prepared to leave Liberia himself at such a militarily important time. No faction leader is likely to want to leave his sector while the peacekeeping force is still deploying, for fear that he loses ground to his rivals or is swept to one side by the peacekeeping force itself. [end recording]

Rebels Continue To Surrender; Doe Sends Message

AB2808163390 Dakar PANA in English 1529 GMT
28 Aug 90

[Text] Monrovia, 28 Aug. (GNA/PANA)—Rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) Monday [27 Aug] continued to surrender to the five-nation West African peace keeping force which landed in Monrovia Friday.

Two NPFL rebels surrendered their weapons to ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and told the peace keepers that some 200 of their colleagues want to do the same but are afraid they would be killed. They said their colleagues are looking for a priest to help them to surrender.

Paul Gibson, 15, a student handed over his AK-47 assault rifle and 613 live rounds of ammunition and his

colleague, Emmanuel Bowahn did the same. They said they joined the Taylor Front, which launched a major bush war late December to oust President Samuel Doe, because Doe's troops killed their parents and relatives. The executive secretary of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) Abbas Bundu told reporters last week-end that about 500 of Taylor's men surrendered to Sierra Leone border police near the Mano River bridge early Friday. Taylor controls about 90 per cent of war-torn Liberia and claims to command about 10,000 guerrillas.

ECOMOG has for the past three days been urging rebels to lay down their arms.

The small rebel group led by Prince Yormie Johnson and President Doe have agreed on a truce and have welcomed the peacekeepers drawn from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. However, Taylor vowed to fight the troops and has since Friday night been battling the 3,500-strong force.

A Nigerian naval ship Sunday arrested 27 rebels, including seven women who were suspected of trying to attack the ECOMOG by sea. They seized a cache of arms, explosives and hand grenades from their 10.7-metre trawler.

Meanwhile, President Doe has sent a special message to the ECOMOG high command at its Monrovia headquarters. Maj. Wilmot Watson, of the office of chief of staff, said his delegation which delivered the message discussed the Liberian situation and the free movement of people, traffic and goods. Watson said President Doe hoped ECOMOG will not take sides in the three-way fight for power. He said Doe was happy that ECOMOG had arrived in Liberia to restore peace. Several thousands of people have died in the bloody eight-month-old civil war.

Johnson Envoy on Interim Government Proposals

AB2808180190 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In the three days since they landed in Monrovia, the West African peacekeeping force has established control over the port area, but as of yesterday, had not yet moved into the center of the Liberian capital. Meanwhile, in Freetown in neighboring Sierra Leone, the next wave of the peacekeeping force, known as ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], is being prepared. On the line to Freetown a few minutes ago, Robin White asked Elizabeth Blunt, what is planned for this second shipment:

[Begin Blunt recording] Well, it is so not much more people that are going in—it is a question of equipment. There were a number of vehicles which got left behind the first time—there obviously room wasn't room or wasn't time—and they are still here in Freetown; and

there is extra equipment coming up from Nigeria. I am not exactly sure what it is they have asked for, but that is being flown in to Sierra Leone, and the whole lot will leave back to Monrovia tomorrow or Thursday [30 Aug].

[White] I understand that you are going back with that boat?

[Blunt] Well, I hope so.

[White] Now what information is coming to Freetown as to the progress the ECOMOG forces are making in Liberia?

[Blunt] Well, I have heard nothing new today, but by last night, they were certainly over the bridges—for people who know Monrovia—they were over the bridge from the port, and they were into the waterside area, which is the fringes of the city center, it is the main market area in Monrovia. Everything there seemed to be going quite quietly. There did not seem to be any problem. They are going slowly, they are going cautiously. But there did not seem to have been any fighting at that end of town. There was fighting yesterday around the airfield, that is, Spriggs Payne, but that would be between Taylor's people and President Doe's people. I do not think that would have involved the West African peacekeeping force. [end recording]

Elizabeth Blunt on the line from Freetown. Meanwhile, in the Gambian capital, Banjul, the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, has been pursuing the other plank of its peace initiative by attempting to convene a meeting of many Liberian groups, including the warring factions. The main rebel group of Charles Taylor has announced it is boycotting the talks. But the other rebel force led by Prince Johnson has sent a delegation, which hitched a ride from Monrovia to Freetown on a returning peace force boat. In Freetown, Elizabeth Blunt asked the leader of this delegation, (Noah Boatholo), why Prince Johnson himself was not leading the delegation:

[Begin recording] [(Boatholo)] Well, we feel normally that whoever has been sent as a representative on behalf of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia will do just as well as though Prince Johnson himself were present. So it does not matter whether he goes or not.

[Blunt] But why didn't he go?

[(Boatholo)] I mean, this is wartime, everybody is busy, there are a lot of things that need to be controlled—you know, with regard to war and what have you; and now, the situation has become too much, to the extent of seeking for peace and things like that. He needs to be where the actions are going on.

[Blunt] So has he mandated you with certain positions that you are to put forward at the meeting?

[(Boatholo)] Exactly.

[Blunt] Have you any views on who you would like to see in an interim government—because you will be talking about that in Banjul.

[(Boazolo)] The problem is, we could come up with a name, but I do not think it will be too wise now at this time because there could be opposition from the other warring factions, either from Doe's side or from Charles Taylor's side.

[Blunt] But do you have some candidates in mind?

[(Boatholo)] Well, we have candidates in mind.

[Blunt] Could I ask you what sort of people they would be, what kind of people, rather than their names?

[(Boatholo)] Really, we will prefer having someone from the clergy, but we do not want to be specific for reasons best known to ourselves, because otherwise the lives of these individuals might not be too secure.

[Blunt] What other sort of issues do you want to raise in Banjul?

[(Boatholo)] Well, firstly, we have in mind that, as we have been saying from time to time, we are not interested—I mean as far as the Independent National Patriotic Front—in becoming president, or what have you. We are propounding that we are going to sit down and lay down our weapons, Charles Taylor must lay down his weapons, and Doe must step down. OK? So that this will pave the way for the restoration of peace to Liberia.

[Blunt] What about the way that ECOMOG is working? Are you happy with the way that is going so far?

[(Boatholo)] I am very, very happy, as far as I am concerned. [end recording]

(Noah Boatholo) of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, on his way to the peace talks in Banjul. And we have just heard that those talks are now beginning to tackle substantive issues and get down to the task of forming an interim government. Sources in Banjul have told us that the meeting hopes to announce names of members of the interim government by Thursday.

Envoy Claims Taylor Using Foreign Troops

AB2808211390 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] And now, briefly back to the civil war in Liberia. We mentioned earlier reports that troops from Burkina Faso had been seen with Charles Taylor's rebels. We have just received a report from our West African correspondent, Elizabeth Blunt, that the Liberian ambassador to Sierra Leone, Major General Albert Karpheh, has accused the rebel leader Charles Taylor of using foreign troops in his war against President Samuel Doe.

The war in Liberia, Maj. Gen. Karpheh said, was not a civil war—it was an international one being sponsored by foreign countries. Taylor's fighters did not speak any Liberian dialect, he said, nor did they know why they were fighting.

Expelled Journalist on Experiences With Rebels

AB2908094090 London BBC World Service in English
2200 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "News Hour" program]

[Text] [Words indistinct] closer to President Doe's fortified Mansion in the capital, Monrovia, the rebels split into two rival groups and the truth is that nobody knows just how many thousands of people, mostly civilians, have been killed. Last Saturday [25 Aug] a five-nation West African peacekeeping force landed in Monrovia, but Charles Taylor says he regards the peacekeepers as enemies. Stephen Smith, Africa editor for the French newspaper LIBERATION, has just returned to Abidjan in the Ivory Coast after being with Charles Taylor's rebels who accused him of being a spy. Stephen Smith has been telling me about his experiences with the rebels:

[Begin recording] [Smith] I have been with the rebel movement for about a month, together with half a dozen of Western colleagues, and so we have been on their side and we were allowed to move freely to the frontline and report on what we saw. The fact is that probably...[changes thought] the fact that some journalists, inter alia and myself, went to the port area, which was the second (?front) where no journalist had been seen previously, intrigued them and so they were suspicious of spy activities and on Saturday night, when a Libyan plane flew in to Robertsfield International Airport, they met us over there and then they accused me to be a spy: We have to go back, to leave the country, because it was just getting too dangerous. [sentence as heard]

[Announcer] And on the Saturday night when you had been accused of being a spy by the rebels, what happened to you then?

[Smith] Well, actually, we were stopped at Robertsfield Airport and I walked up to Mr. Taylor and I wanted to know what the reason was and he asked me who I was, whether I was Stephen Smith, and I confirmed it and then, immediately, he said to one of his bodyguards, deal with him, and he handed me over to him. He asked another man to take me away to a nearby jail, and after two or three minutes of driving through the night, he stopped the car, got me out of the car and obliged me to kneel down in the light of the headlights and then, he put his gun to my neck, and a first shot went off, and I did not understand anything. Actually, I had a rather stupid idea at that point. I just thought I had been trembling so much he missed me. He put the gun again to my neck. I felt something, some warmth, and a second shot, this time on the right hand side of my head, went off and I didn't know whether that was ordered by the rebel leader or whether that was his private initiative.

[Announcer] A terrifying experience, I should think. For several months, Charles Taylor's rebels were generally considered to be the largest fighting force and very likely

to overthrow President Doe. With him now retreating, do you think we are once more looking at a protracted civil war again?

[Smith] This is the danger, actually. I think there is a danger of internationalization or at least, a regionalization of the conflict. It is not for sure that he will be driven out of Monrovia and it is very unlikely he might be driven back to Nimba County in the northeastern part of the country where the rebellion started.

[Announcer] And as the fighting sweeps through these various areas around the capital, as you were able to see last week, what is left behind? What sort of situation are the people who are caught up in the middle of this in?

[Smith] Well, it is a terrifying reality because when we moved a month ago to Monrovia, the rebel forces were fighting their way into a capital that was still something like a capital. Even though it had been for weeks without electricity and without food, we discovered people coming out of their houses who hadn't eaten for a week or 10 days, and so the stream of refugees then left Monrovia. Quite a few, I will say hundreds of them, were shot in the selection process, that is, stopped by the rebels on ethnic grounds. If they belonged to the presidential tribe they were sure to be killed, and so this process was terrifying for about three weeks. But then, and now the capital is almost a ghost town. There is hardly anyone left there, and even the dogs started to die, probably from—it is very very crude to say so—but from eating human flesh for weeks on end. So, it has become a scenery that is probably very, very difficult to describe because for a month we have gone through experiences that normally you don't witness even in a war, because normally the frontlines are more established. There is nothing, there are just commandos running around in a city, looting and shooting at mainly 5,000 civilian victims and hardly any soldiers killed.

In a month I saw three soldiers killed, rebels killed and there were five or 10 injured people, because, basically, even the fighting is not professional—shooting in air, shooting at an enemy you can't see—and the civilians really bear the brunt of this conflict. [end recording]

Taylor's Rebels Taking West African Hostages

AB2908154290 London BBC World Service in English
1500 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] Reports from Liberia say the rebel group led by Mr. Charles Taylor [National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL] has begun taking hostages among people from the countries that make up the West African peacekeeping force. The BBC West Africa correspondent says the report comes from behind rebel lines. They say the hostages include Ghanaians, Nigerians, Sierra Leoneans, and Guineans.

Mr. Taylor opposes the mediation of the peacekeeping force, and his men have already clashed with the West African troops since they landed in Monrovia on Saturday [25 Aug].

Taylor Rejects Talks; Group Sets up Committees

AB2908151990 Dakar PANA in English 1248 GMT
29 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Dakar 29 Aug. (PANA)—The leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL] Charles Taylor, has turned down an invitation to attend in Banjul the ongoing ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] sponsored national conference on setting up an interim government in Liberia. Participants at the conference issued a formal invitation to him at the end of the first day of deliberations on Monday [27 Aug].

In the invitation, signed on behalf of delegates at the conference by Archbishop Michael Francis of Monrovia, Taylor was asked to accept negotiations for a ceasefire and end the carnage in Liberia. The invitation expressed the fervent hope and trust of delegates that he would respond hurriedly and urgently to the message.

But a Radio Gambia report said the archbishop later briefed newsmen Tuesday saying that one Randolph Cooper, a representative of Taylor's NPFL, telephoned the conference from the United States on Tuesday to inform delegates that Taylor would not come to Banjul for the conference.

This was because he said the NPFL was technically at war with the ECOWAS peacekeeping force as well as ECOWAS and The Gambia, the conference venue.

According to the radio report, Taylor said he would be willing to attend such a conference at OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa or anywhere else in Africa except The Gambia or the West African sub-region. In a despatch to PANA, the UGANDA NEWS AGENCY on Wednesday also reported that Ernest Eastman of the NPFL on Tuesday delivered a message from Taylor to OAU chairman and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni in Kampala.

Meantime, the conference, which is being attended by representatives of various Liberian political parties, interested groups and individuals, has set up five committees to prepare documents on the jurisdiction of the interim government over the ECOWAS Peacekeeping Force (ECOMOG), its structure, constitutionality and mandate, and for the drafting of the final communique.

The committees were due to report to Wednesday's session of the conference, which is now scheduled to last until Thursday. Archbishop Francis on Tuesday told journalists that deliberations so far had been fruitful and concrete.

In another development, rebel leader Prince Johnson's delegation to the conference, which reportedly missed their flight from Freetown Tuesday, was due in Banjul later Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Niger

Government Decides To Evacuate Kuwait Embassy

AB2808215390 Niamey Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Press release issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation]

[Text] Following the expiration on Friday, 24 August 1990, of the Iraqi Government's ultimatum to diplomatic missions accredited to the State of Kuwait and the categorical refusal of the Republic of Niger to transfer its embassy to Baghdad, the Government of Niger takes note of the expulsion order given to members of the Niger Embassy in Kuwait. In the face of the sorts of threat and inadmissible treatment to which the diplomatic missions in Kuwait have been subjected, the Government of Niger has decided to temporarily evacuate the members of the Embassy of Niger and their families.

However, the Embassy of Niger remains open in the capital of the State of Kuwait in the same way as the Niger ambassador remains accredited to His Royal Highness Prince Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait. In this way, the Government of Niger joins all peace-, justice-, and freedom-loving countries in demanding the strict application of Security Council Resolution No. 664, including the right to free and immediate passage of all foreigners wishing to leave Kuwait and Iraq.

In fact, the communique specifies that all Niger nationals living in Kuwait since the invasion of this country up until today are safe and sound.

Nigeria

Babangida Gives Speech on Democratic Transition

AB2808192990 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Address by President Ibrahim Babangida on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of assuming power; on 27 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] Fellow Nigerians, it is now five years since this administration came to power. The background is now so familiar as to warrant no further mention. For this administration, the very [words indistinct] has not been an easy one, given the nature and magnitude of the problems. However, in all our decisions, we have been guided by the spirit of consultation with the broadest stratum of interests and opinions on major economic, political, social, and even military and security issues. In the process, we have taken a number of decisions and initiated new policies designed to make our country self-reliant in food production, look progressively inwards for our raw material requirements for industrial production, and to raise better consciousness on security matters. [passage omitted]

We came with a determination to create an atmosphere in which positive efforts and meaningful contributions will be encouraged in order to provide lasting solutions to our problems. We were mindful of the fact that in order to effect changes that were necessary for the good of this country, such measures had to be taken. Similarly, we were aware that some of the decisions taken in the last five years of this administration did not go down well with some individuals, corporate bodies, and interest groups. They were hard. But their reactions did not deter us that such fundamental changes were likely to be rough and, indeed, painful. In all our actions, we were guided by the need to improve the basis of the welfare of the ordinary Nigerians and to restructure the depressed economy with sustainable growth and development. [passage omitted]

Accordingly, it is imperative for us, in the last phase of our transition program, to take new initiatives in effecting such administrative changes as will consolidate the positive results so far achieved, and prepare the grounds for the ultimate civilianization of government and administration. We will continue our march to 1992. We intend to take appropriate measures to tackle some of our seemingly intractable socioeconomic problems, to consolidate gains, and to inspire confidence required for the Third Republic to take off on a sound and solid foundation.

Like the economic domain, our sociopolitical issues and programs have been anchored on our basic philosophy. We have no doubt whatsoever in our minds when we took over the reins of government that the yearnings of our people were for a return to a democratically elected government. Accordingly, we immediately put in place measures and processes of democratizing the system of government and inculcating the values of a new political culture and peaceful coexistence, free and fair electoral competition, and national stability. We have done all these within the policy of open consultations with all social forces of our nation. I wish to reaffirm the unflinching commitment of this administration to the implementation of the program of transition to civil rule. I wish to once again reassure the nation that this administration will hand over power to a democratically elected government in 1992. The implementation of the political transition program has been enforced. We promulgated a new constitution for the Third Republic last year. We also established a two-party system of grassroots democracy. After fulfilling all the necessary requirements for the take-off of the two political parties, including the construction of party offices at local, state, and federal levels and holding of national conventions of the two political parties, this nation is manifestly assured that we are moving into the last lap of military disengagement from government and the reestablishment of civil democracy. The two political parties have not only taken off—they are now operational. They are presently engaged in shaping up their draft constitutions and manifestoes and fulfilling the necessary routine requirements for their proper registration by the National

Electoral Commission. Control and administration of the two political parties have been fully handed over to the elected officers of the two parties at all levels of the political system. All government appointed functionaries for the take-off of the two political parties have gone back to their substantive appointments in the public service. We are happy to observe that the two political parties have taken off on a very healthy and robust basis. I wish to formally congratulate all the members of the executive committees of the two political parties at the ward, local government, state, and national levels. I advise strongly that the party leaders should approach the task of leadership of their political parties with dedication, seriousness, honesty, and integrity which their responsibilities deserve. [passage omitted]

Fellow Nigerians, I wish to make it clear that the transition program to civil rule is a top priority of this administration. We are committed to it. We have expended an enormous amount of public funds, time, and energy on this program. We fostered the two political parties [words indistinct] and during this period, this administration spent a substantial amount of public funds to build party offices and to conduct all the elections to party offices. We believe that the funds were well spent because we are engaged in building fundamental infrastructures for a stable democratic system in the Third Republic.

This is the first time since independence from colonial rule that any government has invested heavily and purposefully in the development of democracy and political institutions. While we are determined to hand over to a constitutionally elected government, we want such exercise to take place within the context of a durable democratic culture. We expect that politics will be conducted with maturity, decency, decorum within the ethics of responsible politics. We want issues to be the primary determinants in the political debate, political competition, and political choice. We are optimistic about installing and bequeathing to the future of our nation a new approach to politics and government.

However, there are enormous signals from the political arena which give us some concern. Certain tendencies and practices indicate that the political arena is still haunted by negative forces of the past. The chief of General Staff has dealt with a number of these tendencies and practices in his address to the national conventions of the two political parties in July 1990.

I wish only to remark on the principle of federal character, which is being (?abused) in the name of zoning. The Federal Military Government upholds the principle of federal character, but it rejects any attempt to unduly exclude [words indistinct] Nigerians from participating in the competition for any political office. For a healthy development of the political process, the principle of federal character must guarantee, among other things, that whoever is elected to public office, at federal, state, and local government levels, is popularly and fully acceptable by our people. [passage omitted]

Fellow Nigerians, as we enter into the last lap of the life span of this administration, we have [words indistinct] of the need to start the process of implementing the constitutional provisions and articles of the Third Republic. Accordingly, and in conformity with the letters of the transition to civil rule program, we shall from now on systematically deregulate and demilitarize the process of politics and government in the period leading to 1992. From now to the time we formally hand over power to a civilian government, this administration will, where appropriate, implement the provisions of the expectations of the 1989 constitution.

As a first step towards this process, the Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC] has given the administration the mandate to carry out the necessary changes in government and administration. In accordance with the constitution, and indeed in conformity with the practice of a presidential system of government, the office of the Chief of General Staff as it now operates will cease to exist. The Office of the Vice President and the Presidency is hereby established. Appointments to this office will be announced after the AFRC's meeting this week, together with a comprehensive description of the powers and responsibilities of the vice president. The AFRC will also consider the need to put in place appropriate institutional framework for regular meetings, consultations, and decisionmaking between the states and the presidency. Other changes in the presidency will include a proper designation and the limitation of the role and responsibilities of the secretary to the Federal Military Government and the phasing out of certain operational units in the Presidency.

In the same vein, a reorganization of the Presidency will be undertaken as much as possible to conform with the requirements of the 1989 constitution. Similarly, there is going to be administrative changes at the state levels with the redeployment of some military governors. In addition, a new mandate will be worked out for the military governors of the states to enable them to function side by side with civilian deputy governors. This arrangement with military governors and civilian deputy governors will continue in operation till 1991, when elections to the office of governors and state assemblies will be conducted. It is envisaged that the state governments will begin to operate with as much constitutional latitude and autonomy as is now possible in the process of transition to civil rule.

The implications of these and other changes will be duly examined by the AFRC with a view to promulgating necessary decrees for stability and good government. The Transition to Civil Rule Committee, which had up to now coordinated the various agencies of the transition to civil rule program, is to be dissolved. I commend the work of the committee, especially in organizing and conducting elections into party offices. [passage omitted]

The two political parties are expected to begin a process of consolidation of their membership and preparation for local government elections in December 1990. In the

meantime, the political parties are expected to observe rules on transition programs, with particular reference to the (?takeoff) of open political campaigns immediately after the AFRC has approved the party constitution and manifestoes. For the avoidance of doubt, I wish to reaffirm that the provisions of Decree 25 of 1987 and as further amended by Decree No.9 of 1989 are still in force. In other words, the ban placed on certain categories of past politicians and public office holders remains in force. There is no intention whatsoever on the part of this administration to lift the ban during the period of transition to civil rule.

However, to broaden the base of the political process, this administration has decided to allow the organizing [words indistinct] of the university community with particular reference to academic staff unions to take full advantage of the liberalization policy of the transition to create their own programs. Accordingly, the ban placed on the Academic Staff Union of the universities is hereby lifted with immediate effect. This administration believes that the universities can, and indeed should, make positive contribution to the emergence of a new sociopolitical order. However, the ban on partisan politics and political campaigns on university campuses and premises remains in force. Government will not hesitate to deal with individuals and groups who attempt to use our universities as launching pads to foment troubles and subversion and to destabilize the program of transition to civil rule. [passage omitted]

With reference to the demilitarization and military disengagement from government and political forces, the AFRC has decided that all military officers presently engaged in task forces, management of parastatals, including commissions, committees, and various trans-tutorial authorities are to disengage from such services. Such military officers will be redeployed to military duties in their respective commands between now and 30 September 1990. They will be duly replaced by competent men and women from appropriate organs and sectors of the civil societies. This exercise of demilitarization will be a continuous one until 1992, when the military will totally divert itself from political concerns. [passage omitted].

This administration has always been mindful of its responsibility toward the Armed Forces and the security agencies. If for no other reason, the administration is frequently aware that the Armed Forces constitute its primary constituency. As a military administration, we are fully concerned about the need to put the organization and welfare of the Armed Forces and security agencies in their proper place before the handover of power. Toward this end, the Ministry of Defense shall be reorganized in order to provide appropriate political direction and effective orientation for the Armed Forces as currently envisaged in the constitution. In addition, the Armed Forces and security agencies will be thoroughly overhauled and be restructured so as to provide relevance in training and redeployment of officers and men.

In the same vein, the need to secure and protect life and property in the country calls for continued reorganization of the Nigerian police force and other security agencies. This exercise will also continue as (?fixed).

Fellow Nigerians, the emergence of a democratic polity of the Third Republic is now imminent. As we continue our march towards the dawn of a new democratic era, the role of a new and credible political leadership becomes critical. For the Third Republic, this country requires the leadership that is responsive to the yearnings of the people, that leads by example, that shuns excessive materialism, and is committed to the service of the people. The service to the people is the essence of democratic government. Therefore, we envisage the leadership that must play the game according to the rules. We expect also a leadership that must subject itself to the litmus test of transparent honesty and accountability in order to ensure viable, stable, and democratic policies. In order to achieve the Third Republic of our dreams, the continuous monitoring of the implementation of the transition program by government is imperative.

In carrying out the monitoring exercise, all negative tendencies and practices that emerge or are about to emerge will be identified and resolved as appropriate. Indeed, we hold ourselves responsible to the successful implementation of the transition (?phase) and a return to civil administration in 1992. We cannot, therefore, (?engage) in such negative behavior as has been exhibited by some political experts. The elite, the [word indistinct] and the academia—all have important roles to play in the process of molding our cultural spheres that will sustain this faith and rise towards a new democratic policy. If we are to attain our goal as a united, virile, and prosperous nation which belongs to [words indistinct] leadership in its own sphere of operation will be capable of sustainable struggle for nation-building and autonomy in world affairs. That struggle began at the very inception of this administration, and it has not been without inevitable pains. I salute your faith and appreciate the understanding and support given to this administration during the past five years.

We have now entered the crucial period of party politics as a prelude to complete democratization of the political process. Now, more than ever before, with greater sacrifice, patience, understanding, and support we expected from all political actors and citizenry alike to keep the transition process in course and bring to fruition our dreams of a smooth and peaceful handover to a democratically elected government in 1992, the administration will continue to pursue its policy of probity and accountability in government. No public officer—military or civilian—will be spared from this (?line) and the need to observe this conduct in government. It is the hope of this administration that the handover process will be authentically credible and exemplary to political leadership of the Third Republic.

Finally, as we commence the last lap of our journey to a new social, political, and economic order, I wish, on

behalf of the AFRC, to salute the (?enormous) spirit of our people. The journey so far has been very eventful. We have shared the pains of structural adjustment in the belief that our efforts and sacrifices will result in a better tomorrow for our children. We should not relent in our efforts, individually and collectively, to play our role in whatever capacity we find ourselves in the process of building a strong and self-reliant country. On our part, we not only committed to handing over power to a democratically elected government in 1992, but also in doing this, we intend to bequeath a considerable and (?booming) economy and a stable, peaceful, and united country for our successors.

Thank you and long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

Ambassador Reportedly Withdrawn From Kuwait

*AB2808195590 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 28 Aug 90*

[Text] Nigeria's representative in Kuwait, Ambassador Mustapha Saleh, and the embassy's members of staff there have been withdrawn. The assistant director general in the Ministry of External Affairs, Ambassador (Agbokoyor), told newsmen that the families of the embassy staffers had also left Kuwait City on their way back to Nigeria. He explained to Ambassador Saleh and the other officials to remain in the country [in Nigeria] until the situation in Kuwait is clear. The move followed President Saddam Husayn's directives that all embassies in Kuwait should move to Baghdad. [Paris AFP in French at 1743 GMT on 28 August, in an item reporting the repatriation of Nigerian diplomatic personnel from Kuwait, citing a "source close to the government in Lagos", adds that "instructions have been given to reduce personnel at the Nigerian Embassy in Iraq."]

Foreign Minister Returns From Saudi Arabia

*AB2808204390 Dakar PANA in English 1656 GMT
28 Aug 90*

[Text] Lagos, 28 Aug. (NAN/PANA)—Nigeria's minister of external affairs, Rilwanu Lukman, returned to Lagos Tuesday [28 Aug] from a five-day official visit to Saudi Arabia and expressed deep concern over the development in the Gulf region.

We are much worried about the situation and heightening of tension in the Gulf region and hope the crisis will be resolved peacefully in the interests of the parties concerned, he said to airport correspondents on arrival.

He said the concentration of forces of various nations in the Gulf in line with a UN resolution to effect an economic sanction and block Iraq from the rest of the world was enough concern for any peace loving nation.

Lukman, who left on Friday with a special message from President Ibrahim Babangida for the Saudi monarch, King Fahd, was expected to discuss issues of bilateral interests with Saudi authorities as well as meet with his Saudi counterpart, Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal.

Senegal

Government Reaffirms Stand on Gulf Crisis

AB2808142690 Dakar PANA in English 1254 GMT
28 Aug 90

[Text] Dakar, 28 Aug (APS-SEN/PANA)—Senegal on Monday [27 Aug] evening re-affirmed its attachment to the principles of the United Nations, the OAU and the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) on the need to settle conflicts peacefully while recognising the right of each state to preserve its security.

In a statement issued in Dakar, the Senegalese Government re-iterated its position on the Gulf crisis, quashing a news story published by the French news agency, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE (AFP) which did not reflect the position of Senegal.

Quoting the Chinese news agency, the AFP correspondent in Beijing wrote that the Chinese and Senegalese foreign ministers on Monday supported a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Gulf, condemning the military involvement of Western countries.

The statement said the news item did not reflect the position of the Senegalese Government, which because of its attachment to the principles contained in the United Nations Charter and that of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the OIC, has always preached the peaceful settlement of conflicts between states.

The statement said that Senegal, however, recognises the right of every state to preserve its security. This is the attitude it has adopted since the beginning of the Gulf crisis.

This means that it supports all the initiatives aimed at resolving that crisis through peaceful means, be they individual or organised by multilateral institutions like the Arab League or the UN.

According to the statement, the Senegalese Government will continue to support such initiatives, but, as the majority of states have said, and in conformity with the last Arab summit held in Cairo, it added that countries whose security is threatened by developments in the crisis have the right to take (?steps) which they think are (?necessary) to ensure that security.

In this connection, Senegal unreservedly supports the measures taken towards that end by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states, while expressing its wish for a peaceful solution, the statement added.

Togo

Eyadema Receives Mubarak Emissary, Message

AB2808101690 Lome Domestic Service in French
1230 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpts] General Gnassingbe Eyadema, founding chairman of the Rally of the Togolese People [RPT] and

president of the Republic, this morning received in audience Egyptian President Husni Mubarak's special emissary, Mohamed Wafa Hegazy. The meeting took place at the Presidential Palace in Lome. The special emissary was accompanied by the Egyptian ambassador to Togo, (Amoron Ashed). After the meeting, which was attended by Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Minister Yaovi Adodo, Mr. Hegazy told the press that he delivered a written message from the Egyptian president to his Togolese counterpart. According to the special emissary, the message concerns the Gulf crisis. [passage omitted]

Here is Dotse Sourou's report on what the Egyptian president's special emissary said:

[Sourou] I have come to deliver a written message from President Mubarak to His Excellency President Eyadema. The message concerns the latest developments in our region, particularly the Gulf crisis. I had the honor to be received this morning by the president and during the audience, I delivered to him President Mubarak's message. I am delighted that the views of the Togolese people are similar those of the Egyptian president and government.

The purpose of my visit here today is part of a tour to inform our African brothers about the latest developments in the Gulf region in view of the relations existing between Egypt and African countries, especially Togo. We hold the view that it is our duty to inform our African brothers of the situation. We are really encouraged by the support we have received from His Excellency the Togolese president and the Togolese Government. We hope this will yield a positive result, because, if all African countries adopt a common stand, it will certainly be of great influence.

Unfortunately, the Gulf crisis is very dangerous and tensions are very high also because of the position taken by the Iraqi Government concerning the military invasion of Kuwait. We consider the invasion of Kuwait as an act of aggression, an act which must not be accepted by any country in the world. Our president has tried to solve this Iraqi-Kuwaiti dispute peacefully since the beginning of the affair. Our president went to Iraq and Kuwait long before the Iraqi invasion. During these trips, he met with the Iraqi president and the amir of Kuwait as well as other Arab heads of state. Unfortunately, the Iraqi answer was not positive, because in the arrangements made by Egypt for settling this problem before the invasion of Kuwait, a meeting had been envisaged between Iraq and Kuwait in Jiddah in Saudi Arabia. The Iraqi side, however, had wanted Kuwait to accept all its conditions. Finally, this meeting did not yield any results, and we learned the following day, with shock and surprise that Iraq had sent its troops to Kuwait and had invaded it.

Despite the fact that President Saddam Husayn promised at the meeting with President Mubarak that he would not use force to solve the problem, one week after this meeting, Iraq invaded Kuwait. We were very much disappointed by this act. Despite the disappointment of

Egyptians and President Mubarak, Egypt has tried using all means to solve this crisis peacefully, because we know in advance the consequences of a war in this very delicate and sensitive region.

We support all the efforts being made by other Arab or international communities but, in the meantime, we condemn the Iraqi action, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and the presence of Iraqi troops in Kuwait. The

first condition for the restoration of peace is the unconditional withdrawal of the Iraqi troops and the reestablishment of the Kuwaiti order as it was before the invasion. Within the Arab world, there was a meeting of Arab heads of state in Cairo on 10 August. During this meeting, a resolution was adopted by the majority, approving the presence of an Arab force in Saudi Arabia upon the request of Saudi Arabia. This resolution totally condemned the Iraqi behavior and called on Iraq to withdraw its troops.

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